Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-88-130
Thursday
7 July 1988

Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-88-130

CONTENTS

7 July 1988

SPECIAL REPORT

World Reaction to Iranian Airbus Downing Sampled 1

INTRABLOC AFFAIRS

Further Reportage on 44th CEMA Session 14
Cuban Official Arrives *[Prague]* 14
Cooperation With Non-European Members *[CTK]* 14
Debates Continue *[CTK]* 14
Zemljaric Talks With Ryzhkov *[TANJUG]* 15
News Conference Held *[CTK]* 15
Atanasov Statement *[BTA]* 15
Marjai Address *[MTI]* 16
Jakes Receives Delegates *[CTK]* 16
Marjai Opens CEMA Economic Conference 22 Jun *[MAGYAR HIRLAP 23 Jun]* 17

ALBANIA

U.S. Gulf Presence 'Pretext for Aggression' *[BASHKIMI 4 Jul]* 18
Press Reports Close of CPSU Conference *[ZERI I POPULLIT 3 Jul]* 18
Crop Protection Agreement Signed With Bulgaria 18

BULGARIA

Doubt Voiced Over U.S. View of Airbus Tragedy *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 5 Jul]* 19
U.S. Version Examined *[NARODNA ARMIYA 5 Jul]* 19
Atanasov Condolences to Iran on Airbus Tragedy *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 5 Jul]* 19
Hungarian-Romanian Conflict Examined *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 1 July]* 20
Bulgarian-CSSR Economic Agreement Signed 20

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Iranian Ambassador Condemns Airbus Incident 21
Iran To Stress Political Response 21
Further on the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference 21
Commentary Praises Conference *[RUDE PRAVO 30 Jun]* 21
RUDE PRAVO Dispatches *[29 Jun, 1-2 July]* 23
Editorial Assesses Conference *[RUDE PRAVO 5 Jul]* 24
SFRY's Ckrebic Pays Official Visit 25
Arrives 3 Jul *[TANJUG]* 25
Received by Lenart, Hanus 25
Further Report *[TANJUG]* 25
Meets Jakes, Departs 25
Further Report *[TANJUG]* 26
Further Reportage on MPR's Sodnom Visit 26
Meets With Jakes, Strougal *[Ulaanbaatar]* 26
Joint Release *[RUDE PRAVO 5 Jul]* 26

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Khamene'i Receives Envoy for Farewell Visit 28
Schuerer, SRV Official Discuss Cooperation *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 5 Jul]* 28
Cambodia Pullout Welcomed *[Hanoi VNA]* 28
Communication Minister Receives Cuban Counterpart *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 5 Jul]* 28
NVA Has Met 'All Obligations' of CSCE Pact 28
Briefs 29
Ethiopia Thanks GDR Physicians 29

HUNGARY

Premier Karoly Grosz To Visit U.S. 19 July 30
Independence Day Greetings Sent to U.S. 30
Premier Grosz Meets Rabbi From New York 30
Marjai Comments on Recent Agreement With EEC 30
Debate at CPSU Conference Creates 'Sensation' *[NEPSZABADSAG 4 Jul]* 31
Soviet Weekly Reviews Hungarian-Romanian Relations 32
PPR's Dlugosz on Polish, Hungarian Reforms *[NEPSZABADSAG 25 Jun]* 33
Interest in CEMA Possibilities Discussed 33
Soviet Cosmonaut on Joint Space Flight 34
Journalist Visits PRC Space Center 34
More Associations Protest Against Romanian Plans 34
Various Organizations 34
Hungarian Architects *[MAGYAR NEMZET 9 Jun]* 35
MSZMP's Jasso Approves of Dual Nomination 36
Nyers Interviewed on Exports, Inflation 37
More on PPF National Presidium Session *[NEPSZABADSAG 28 Jun]* 38
Official Receives Report on Conscientious Objection 38
Scientific Workers' Trade Established 38
Session Begins 38
Program Determined 39
Further on Founding Session *[NEPSZABADSAG 27 Jun]* 39

POLAND

Iranian Airliner Downing: 'Not Just Mistake' *[Lozinski in TRYBUNA LUDU 5 Jul]* 40
'Error or Intentional Attack' 40
Further Commentary on 19th CPSU Conference 40
Conference Deemed 'Historic' *[ZYCIE WARSZAWY 2-3 Jul]* 40
Historical Context Examined *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 2-3 Jul]* 41
Significance Assessed *[Kraszewski, Kruczkowski in TRYBUNA LUDU 4 Jul]* 42
Democratization Tasks Viewed *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 5 Jul]* 43
Speed, Scope of Changes Examined *[Lozinski in TRYBUNA LUDU 2-3 Jul]* 44
Polish-Soviet Common Market Discussed 45
Polish Hunger-Strikers on Protest in Vienna 45
Diplomat Views Situation 45
Jaruzelski Discusses Problems of Emigration *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 4 Jul]* 46
Urban 28 Jun Press Conference 47

ROMANIA

Dascalescu Gives Report on Pay, Pension Increase *[SCINTEIA 30 Jun]* 50
State Council Submits Report on 1 July Meeting 52
PEC Reports on Its 1 July Meeting 53
SDUF National Council Plenum Resolution *[SCINTEIA 30 Jun]* 54
Hungarian Council Sends Telegram to Ceausescu *[SCINTEIA 28 Jun]* 55
German Council Sends Telegram to Ceausescu *[SCINTEIA 28 Jun]* 57

YUGOSLAVIA

U.S. Envoy Handed Note on Gulf Plane Dead 59
Suvar Sends Condolences to Airbus Families 59
Further on Protest of Borovo Factory Workers 59
Talks Produce No Result 59
3,000 More Now in Belgrade 60
Workers Enter SFRY Assembly 60
Workers Leave Assembly Hall 60
Croatian Leader Talks to Workers 60
Workers Demand Mikulic, Krekic 60
Radio on Workers' Protest 61
Orozen Addresses Workers 62
100 Percent Raise 'Not Possible' 62
Workers Demand Written Guarantee 62
Strike Talks Continue 63
Workers Discuss Pay Offer 63
Borovo Workers Return Home 63
BORBA Blames Officials for Inaction 64
Workers at Pilana Sawmill End Strike 64
Vartilen Workers Hold Protest Meeting 64
Hold Talks at Croatian Assembly 64
Maribor Automobile Workers Go on Strike *[Ljubljana DELO 22 Jun]* 65
Maribor Strike Continues *[Ljubljana DELO 23 Jun]* 66
Strike Almost Causes 'Serious Incident' *[Ljubljana DELO 24 Jun]* 66
Strike Discussed by City Assembly *[Ljubljana DELO 28 Jun]* 67
Maribor Strike Ends *[Ljubljana DELO 25 Jun]* 68
Factory Strike in Knin Ends 68
Korosec Addresses Slovene Miners 68
Security 'Shaken' by Zmaj Workers *[BORBA 30 Jun]* 69
Protest Criticized *[BORBA 30 Jun]* 69
129 Strikes Recorded in Croatia in 1988 69
Military Judge Denies Jansa's Hunger Strike 70
Newspapers Criticize Situation in Slovenia 70
SLOBODNA DALMACIJA Comment *[BORBA 27 Jun]* 70
NOVA MAKEDONIJA Comment *[BORBA 27 Jun]* 71
DELO Comments on Slovene, LCY Plenums *[1 Jul]* 71
Human Rights Committee Criticizes Military 72
'Antisocialist Forces' Blamed for Army Attacks 72

World Reaction to Iranian Airbus Downing Sampled

WA0707160088 [Editorial Report]

NEAR EAST & SOUTH ASIA

Iran—Iranian media were quick to react to the downing of Iran Air flight 655 over the Persian Gulf on 3 July. In its first commentary on the incident, Tehran Domestic Service described the "horrendous" American "crime" as a "new development" in U.S. attempts to "intimidate" Iran and "force it to compromise." The offical response from Tehran was also swift. A 3 July Foreign Ministry statement broadcast by Tehran radio urged international condemnation of the "anti-human U.S. action," which Foreign Minister Velayati, cited by IRNA, termed a "capital crime." For his part, Prime Minister Musavi, in remarks carried by IRNA, declared that America "would not stay immune from the consequences of 'this criminal act'." "Our response to the U.S. is long-term preparation until victory."

On 4 July, Tehran Domestic Service aired a letter from Velayati to UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar. In his note, the foreign minister asserted that the "aggressive attack" violated "all international rules and regulations, especially Clauses 1 and 2 of the 1944 Chicago Convention" on international civil aviation. He also asked for immediate UN condemnation and an on-site investigation. A subsequent Tehran radio commentary said the "criminal United States should know" that the "unlawfully shed blood" will be "avenged in the same blood-spattered sky over the Persian Gulf."

On the same day, in a message of condolence to Ayatollah Khomeyni, his designated successor, Grand Ayatollah Montazeri, declared that it would be "befitting" for Khomeyni to "issue the necessary orders" to initiate "careful plans" for a "principled fight against the main enemy, the United States." He explained that the struggle should encompass the "political, economic, cultural and military fronts," adding that a "full-scale war against the United States cannot be fought with slogans and propaganda campaigns alone." "Cores of resistance inside and outside the country" should make "financial, political, economic, and military interests the targets of their struggle." In an announcer-read reply, Khomeyni asserted that "officials of the system must concentrate all their efforts toward the war," and "endeavor to create massive developments in all war-related issues," with "all going toward the fronts for an all-out war against the United States and its lackeys."

Among other Iranian reaction on 4 July, President Khamene'i, interviewed by Tehran radio, referred to the "mad rage and hatred" of the United States, which led to "violent and disgraceful terrorism," for which the U.S. Government "will have to suffer the consequences." In a similar vein, Foreign Minister Velayati, addressing diplomats in remarks reported by Tehran Domestic Service, stated that "the consequences" of the U.S. presence in the Gulf will be borne by America and "those countries that have invited or facilitated its presence."

On 5 July, in a speech to parliament, its speaker, Hojjat-ol-Eslam Hashemi-Rafsanjani, characterized the downing of the plane as "a disaster unprecedented in contemporary history," adding that "we will not allow ourselves to refrain from taking revenge, and the choice of time is up to us, not the United States." Prime Minister Musavi, in a message to the leaders of 24 countries summarized by IRNA, noted that the presence of the U.S. fleet had "seriously endangered the security of regional nations." He pointed out that "the Iranian Government considers the Reagan administration responsible for the crime," and appealed to world leaders to "react properly" so as to prevent similar incidents.

Observing military maneuvers, President Khamene'i, in statements transmitted by IRNA on 6 July, promised a "firm response" to the incident. Tehran radio cited Khamene'i as pledging "total engagement against this very harsh, disastrous, and savage American action." In an apparent reference to President Reagan's declaration that the United States considers the matter closed, Khamene'i said that not only was the case "not finished," but that "it is only the start of the affair." He then went on to highlight Iran's right "to give an appropriate response" to the "disaster."

In a later commentary, Tehran Domestic Service alleged that "it is now revealed" that the "USS Vincennes" had "previously endangered" lives "about a month ago" by tracking "civilian aircraft." By "putting all the blame" on the "Vincennes," the station explained, President Reagan was opposing the notion that it was the American presence in the Gulf that had "caused" such "painful incidents." On the same day, IRNA claimed that "firm evidence" existed "lending credence" to the theory that the downing was a "deliberate act" by the vessel, which was said to have a "dark record of U.S. state terrorism." The emphasis on premeditation continued when Prime Minister Musavi, in remarks reported by IRNA, spoke of "documented evidence of a joint plot" by the United States and Iraq regarding this "unmanly" act. While stating that the attack would not go unanswered, Musavi added that "proper reaction" by the world "would be effective in preventing" similar tragedies on the future.

Finally, in remarks carried by the Kuwaiti news agency KUNA but not monitored from Iranian media, Deputy Foreign Minister Mohammad Larijani "admitted" to the Austrian newspaper KURIER that the pilot of the Iranian airliner "did not pay attention to warnings by American warships," as he was "busy with many things in the cockpit." **Iraq**—Baghdad media coverage of the loss of Iran Air flight 655 has been limited. On 4 July, Baghdad INA transmitted a report citing Iranian opposition leader Mas'ud Rajavi as holding the Khomeyni regime responsible for the downing of the airliner due to its insistence on continuing the war. Two days later, in

another INA dispatch on a speech by President Saddam Husayn, the Iraqi president accused Khomeyni of reiterating his "evil intentions" against Arabs, Muslims, and human values "in his reply to Montazeri following the occurrence of the regrettable incident involving the Iranian passenger plane." Saddam Husayn concluded that Khomeyni's message was a reminder to the world of his "subversive course". **Syria**—An "official source" cited by Damascus radio on 4 July noted that Syria had learned of the loss of the Iran Air plane "with amazement, pain, and disgust." The same source characterized the incident as an "atrocious crime." Commentary by the official press has been equally strident. In its 5 July press review, the station quoted AL-THAWRAH, which claimed that the action was "premeditated," and that the United States is the "number one terrorist state in the world and the leader of this terrorism." On the same day, another Damascus paper, AL-BA'TH, alleged that the U.S.-NATO military presence in the Gulf would threaten the region with "devastating consequences" as long as the United States continued to "interfere in its affairs." **Egypt**—The first official response to the downing of the Iranian airliner was a statement on 4 July by Foreign Minister 'Abd al-Majid expressing his regret at the loss of the plane. MENA said he affirmed that the incident "manifests the dangers facing the peoples of the Gulf," and called for the international community to establish a just peace quickly. This was followed by a MENA piece on a statement by the Soviet ambassador in Cairo linking such incidents to the presence of U.S. and other Western military forces in the Gulf.

On the same day, a Cairo television commentator described the event as an example of the "tragic escalation" resulting from the "Israeli policy of prolonging the Gulf war." The commentator explained that American units "mistook the airliner for a military jet" and shot it down "by mistake." In a 5 July commentary, Cairo radio took a different line, claiming that similiar incidents will occur as long as the Gulf war continues, which, in turn, was blamed on the "behavior of Iranian rulers." In another commentary on 6 July, the station agreed that the incident showed the urgent need to end the war, "whatever the truth" about conflicting U.S. and Iranian claims over the cause of the downing. **Israel**—In statements reported by Jerusalem radio, Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir said "the United States should not be blamed for the downing of the Iranian airplane because the incident was caused by human error." Vice Prime Minister Peres, in comments broadcast by the radio, expressed sorrow over the incident, noting: "It was a very unfortunate event, probably a human error." Peres also voiced his belief that the downing would have no "direct repercussions for Israel."

All major Israeli papers carried editorials and comments on the incident in their 5 July editions. Among them, the independent paper HADASHOT blamed Iran for the accident, asserting: "Anybody condemning the Americans had better ask himself why the Iranian airliner ventured into the battle zone, why the aircraft's captain refused to identify himself, and why the plane was flying so low." THE JERUSALEM POST expressed concern that Tehran would "use the airline tragedy to trigger new desperate acts of international violence," highlighting its own certainty that the U.S. Government will want to offer material compensation to the victims' families, even if it is firmly established that "local U.S. commanders had sufficient reason to suspect a hostile military aircraft." **Saudi Arabia**—On 4 July, at the end of a regularly scheduled newscast, Riyadh Domestic Service carried a brief item on Iranian rescue attempts after the loss of the Iran Air plane. This was followed several hours later by a report on King Fahd's call for greater "vigilance and alertness" against "any sudden incident." For its part, the news agency SPA cited the Kingdom's expression of "regret" over the episode. While offering condolences to the families of the victims, Saudi Arabia was said to be looking forward to a "swift end" to the conflicts in the region in order to avert "more dangers and calamities in the Gulf area."

The Manama news agency WAKH on 5 July noted the following comment, which appeared in an editorial published on the same day in the Medina Arabic-language newspaper AL-MADINAH: "The current tension in the Gulf and the dangers threatening the region were imposed by the Iranian regime's policy of piracy toward merchant ships belonging to neutral, nonbelligerent states." The paper added that such "negative developments would not have occurred had the Iranian rulers accepted the peace advocated by Iraq and supported by all peace-loving countries." **Kuwait**—Quoting a "responsible source" at the Foreign Ministry on 4 July, Kuwait radio noted the government's "extreme regret and sorrow" at the downing of the Iranian airliner. According to KUNA, the ministry believed the "tragic incident" was the result of the "continuing tense situation in this region."

In a 6 July KUNA summary of press comment, heightened tension was again seen as the "real cause" of the incident, which threatened "more and bigger tragedies." However, the KUWAIT TIMES warned the United States that it has done "precious little to show it shares the distress" of the bereaved. AL-RA'Y AL-'AMM, normally known for its anti-American views, advised Iran against retaliation, as that would "breed a spiral of reprisals" claiming additional civilian lives. An earlier KUNA press review on 5 July cited AL-SIYASAH as holding Iran "partly responsible" for the incident due to its "constant refusal to abide by peace calls." The KUWAIT TIMES was said to have urged Tehran to "seize the occasion and accept peace." **Libya**—After several factual reports on 3 July citing Iranian sources, the official news agency JANA noted the American admission of responsibility for the "horrible crime" and "ugly massacre," which were described as the latest case of American "state terrorism." A commentator for the news agency appealed for "firm and responsible" international pressure on the United States to "withdraw its fleets and its military bases wherever they may be." A

Foreign Liaison Bureau statement transmitted by JANA on 4 July repeated the call for the withdrawal of "all foreign fleets" from the Gulf. In a second declaration from the Foreign Liaison Bureau cited by JANA, addressed to the diplomatic corps on 5 July, "all states" were asked to "work for the withdrawal of American fleets from the Mediterranean and the Arab Gulf." **Lebanon**—Initial Lebanese reaction to the incident was dominated on 5 July by reports from various radios that the Islamic Jihad organization had decided to execute an American hostage to avenge the loss of Iranian lives. The French news agency AFP added that analysts did not take the threat seriously, as it was not accompanied by photographs of any captives. The agency also cited Shi'ite religious leader Shaykh Fadlallah as saying the episode did not justify the taking of additional Western hostages.

The only monitored reaction from official Lebanese sources came from acting Prime Minister Salim al-Huss, who, according to Beirut radio, felt "the enormity of the tragedy" was greater because the plane had been downed by U.S. forces. Other prominent figures took a harsher line. Quoted by the same radio, Muhammad Mahdi Shams al-Din, deputy chairman of the Higher Islamic Shi'ite Council, termed the event a "criminal massacre," while the leader of the Amal movement, Minister Nabih Birri, sent a cable to Ayatollah Khomeyni referring to the attack as "a human scandal by U.S. hands." The Political Bureau of the leftist Druze PSP denounced the incident as a reflection of "U.S. contempt for human values," according to the clandestine Voice of the Mountain radio. **Jordan**—No official statements on the Iran Air incident have been monitored from Jordanian media. However, in its reporting on the affair, Amman Domestic Service has tended to emphasize the "inadvertent" nature of the event, which occurred while the "USS Vincennes" was in a "defensive position." On 4 July, the radio claimed that the international community saw the attack as confirmation of the "urgent need to end the Iraq-Iran conflict and achieve peace in the region so that such a tragic incident will not recur." While coverage by the Amman Arabic-language press has been virtually devoid of comment, in a 4 July article in AL-RA'Y, columnist Masarwah drew a parallel with the South Korean plane brought down by the Soviets, pointing out that Jordan condemned that attack in the UN Security Council. In contrast, a 5 July editorial in the English-language daily JORDAN TIMES said: "The U.S. must accept the major part of the blame for the accident and must recognize that military prowess is not the answer to all political or human dilemmas." **Bahrain**—In a declaration summarized by Manama WAKH on 4 July, a Foreign Ministry spokesman expressed Bahrain's "regret and sorrow" to the families of those lost aboard Iran Air flight 655. The government, he added, sees the incident as a "clear example of the tension and threat to regional security and stability resulting from the Iraq-Iran war." The spokesman concluded by voicing Bahrain's wish for a speedy end to the Gulf conflict.

Among the press comment, WAKH cites an editorial in the 4 July edition of the Manama daily AKHBAR AL-KHALIJ. According to WAKH, the paper attributed the incident to Iran's insistence on continuing the war, and praised the "moral courage" of the United States in admitting its own mistake. That admission, the paper wrote, has "contributed to containing the effects of the incident and settling its consequences." **UAE**—On 4 July, a Foreign Ministry official, in a statement noted by Manama WAKH, expressed "deep sorrow and grief" at the recent U.S. naval action in the Gulf. The UAE, he declared, felt the "tragic incident" was a result of the continuation of the Iraq-Iran war. The spokesman also reaffirmed the UAE's call for implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 598 on the conflict.

In a 5 July editorial reported by Manama WAKH, the leftist paper Al-Shariqah AL-KHALIJ accused the United States of "turning the region into an explosive furnace as a result of its policies of aggression." The United States sees the Middle East as an "exclusive American lake where no one can swim, not even the peoples of the area themselves." **India**—The Indian Government has "deplored" the downing of an Iranian civilian aircraft. In a statement by a spokesman for the External Affairs Ministry, reported by Delhi radio on 4 July, the use of military force against a "clearly civilian target" was "unjustified." The spokesman called on the U.S. Administration to "thoroughly investigate the circumstances" of the action and "identify those responsible for it." The radio also said that Prime Minister Gandhi had conveyed "heartfelt sympathies" in a message to his Iranian counterpart over "the act of violence perpetrated" on 3 July. **Pakistan**—In a message to his Iranian counterpart, cited by Islamabad Domestic Service on 4 July, President Mohammad Ziaul Haq said "the tragedy" represented by the loss of the Iranian plane "appalled and grieved" him "beyond any measure." The president described the circumstances surrounding the incident, in which four Pakistanis died, as "highly regrettable and reprehensible." He appealed to the United States to initiate an inquiry and punish those responsible for this "unpardonable deed." **Bangladesh**—A Foreign Ministry spokesman, quoted by Dhaka radio on 5 July, expressed "deep shock" at the downing of the Iranian Airbus. He said his government "deplored the loss of many valuable lives," and emphasized Bangladesh's "deep anxiety at the tension" in the region. **Afghanistan**—In the sole monitored Afghan reaction to the downing of Iran Air flight 655, the English-language service of the official news agency BAKHTAR transmitted a "statement" on 6 July asserting that the United States "provides all-sided grounds for the international terrorism." The statement recommended the withdrawal of U.S. forces and those of other nations not bordering the Gulf.

SOVIET UNION

The Airbus incident was first reported at 1100 GMT on 3 July by Moscow's English-language broadcast service, citing IRNA. A similar item was carried by TASS English

at 1149 GMT, picked up by Moscow in Russian at 1300 GMT, and then by Radio Peace and Progress in Arabic at 1330 GMT. U.S. claims to have downed an F-14 were mentioned in hourly broadcasts beginning with the 1500 GMT Moscow World Service in English. Moscow television's "Vremya" newscast repeated the IRNA reports, adding related clips of Dubayy television film. Moscow in English at 2000 GMT noted President Reagan's admission of U.S. responsibility, which it said "avoids the capital issue": how the mistake could have been made. TASS English at 2033 GMT on 3 July cited Admiral Crowe as having admitted the plane had been shot down and having said that the United States "deeply regrets" the incident. The TASS report noted State Department alerts to most embassies regarding "special" security measures. President Reagan's statement on the incident wass the lead item on the World Service in English 2100 GMT 3 July broadcast and the Spanish broadcast.

TASS in English at 0615 GMT on 4 July cited comments by U.S. Democratic Party presidential candidates Dukakis and Jackson, expressing "deep regret" over the downing. A report on the Iranian recovery of bodies was the second item on the Moscow World Service in English 0700 GMT 4 July broadcast, including a brief mention of Iranian Foreign Minister Velayati's statement placing "full responsibility" on the United States. A commentary carried on the broadcast, the first monitored since the incident occurred, questioned whether the downing was accidental. It asserted that U.S. commanders in the Gulf "have apparently been losing control of their actions more and more," and asked whether the incident will lead Reagan to realize that U.S. ships "should be withdrawn from the Gulf." TASS English at 1023 GMT on 4 July reported that First Deputy Foreign Minister Vorontsov received the Iranian ambassador to discuss the downing.

A TASS Russian commentary at 1010 GMT on the same day reported "feverish" attempts in Washington to "justify" the downing as "defense from possible attack." Aleksandr Pogodin, in a Moscow World Service commentary carried at 1110 GMT on 4 July, described U.S. accounts of the "tragic event" as ranging from "outright lies to cynical self-justification." "I am deeply convinced," the commentator said, that the act "was deliberate mass murder in cold blood" and that it is "futile" for the attack to be compared to "the termination" of the Korean Airline flight over the USSR, which had been flying over Soviet territory for a long time "despite warnings." This commentary was repeated in nine subsequent broadcasts in six languages.

Iran's protest to the United Nations was reported by the World Service at 1300 GMT on 4 July. At 1326 GMT, TASS English carried the Supreme Soviet Presidium's message to the Iranian president offering "profound and sincere condolences upon the tragic death of the passengers and crew of an Iranian airliner shot down by a missile from a U.S. naval ship." This was the first monitored high-level official Soviet statement on the incident, and it was widely relayed by both European and Asian radio beams.

A "TASS statement" carried by TASS English at 1347 GMT on 4 July declared that the downing was "far from accidental" and reinforces the need for the U.S. Navy to "leave the Persian Gulf without delay." The TASS statement was also widely reported on various Moscow radio beams.

Moscow in Arabic at 1400 GMT that day carried the Iranian protest to the United Nations as its lead item, but only the first two items concerned the incident. Radio Peace and Progress in English to Asia gave the incident sixth place in a 10-item broadcast at 1400 GMT. The Supreme Soviet condolences were picked up by various Moscow broadcasts as their lead or second item, but treatment of the issue was generally brief. The TASS statement was also picked up as the lead item for English and French broadcasts. Foreign Ministry spokesman Gerasimov was reported by TASS Russian at 1730 GMT as pointing out that the Airbus was shot down "in broad daylight in excellent visibility," unlike the Korean airliner in 1983. Also on 4 July, Moscow broadcasts in Indonesian, Hindi, Cambodian, Tamil, Lao, and Vietnamese carried two commentaries on the downing of the Iran Air jet. In one, Aleksandr Pogodin described the downing as "murder" and rejected President Reagan's "excuses." He declared that, contrary to President Reagan's claims, this action proves that the United States really does not want peace in the Gulf. In the second commentary, Stanislav Vasilyev said that the downing was not accidental, as it was a direct consequence of the U.S. naval presence in the Gulf. He called for the withdrawal of foreign navies from the region and for UN supervision of international shipping lanes.

In addition to numerous TASS items, Moscow Television Service carried three commentaries on the incident. The first, by Igor Goranskiy in the "World Today" program on 4 July, noted that the tragedy has caused a "wave of indignation throughout the world" and said that "it is difficult to believe that a huge passenger plane was mistaken for a small fighter." The second, by Aleksandr Serikov in the "Novosti" 2200 GMT newscast, pointed out that this action could lead to Iranian retaliation and noted that many countries have called for the implementation of measures to prevent an armed conflict in the Gulf.

Initial Soviet press reaction to the 3 July downing of the Iran Air Airbus fell into two basic categories: the charge that the United States had perpetrated a "monstrous crime" and "terrorist act" (PRAVDA), and had resorted to "irresponsible, criminal actions" (KRASNAYA ZVEZDA) and a "barbarous action" (TRUD); and consideration of the political and technical implications of the incident for both the Gulf region and the entire world in terms of the potential for escalation to a large-scale crisis.

On 5 July, PRAVDA's Second Edition devoted half of page 5 to reports and commentaries on the 3 July aircraft downing. Under a prominent headline—"Missiles Against Passengers!"—the paper prefaced its feature with a group of subordinate captions published in boldface characterizing the incident as, inter alia, a "Terrorist Act by the U.S. Navy," a "Monstrous Crime in the Persian Gulf," and a "Barbarous Action by the United States."

A TASS report from Nicosia published in 5 July's PRAVDA cited the initial reactions of Iranian Prime Minister Musavi and Foreign Minister Velayati and Tehran radio, and was followed by a 4 July Washington dispatch from the paper's own correspondent, Vitaliy Gan, who began by saying that "cold-blooded murder has been perpetrated in the sky over the Persian Gulf." Gan then focused on the "propaganda" operation begun by "official Washington" to find versions of the incident that could be presented to the public. He cited the reference in a news conference held by Admiral W. Crowe, chief of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, to "extenuating circumstances," and added that Crowe accused Iran "virtually of a deliberate provocation." Summarizing the explanations given and citing the technical sophistication of the "USS Vincennes," the correspondent wrote that, in the light of the facts that accumulated throughout the day, "even to a nonspecialist these arguments sound naive at best." He viewed the White House response, with President Reagan both expressing "deep regret over the 'terrible human tragedy'" and labeling the incident "an appropriate defensive act," as an attempt "to smooth out the obvious 'discrepancies' in the explanations."

In an accompanying commentary, PRAVDA observer Tomas Kolesnichenko stated that "a crime has been committed" and declared that the U.S. missiles "also blew apart the provisions of international law, commonsense, and the principles of nonuse of force and noninterference in other peoples' affairs." Kolesnichenko noted that when Admiral Crowe was asked at a news conference about the "the difference between the present incident and the incident involving the Korean aircraft" he "resorted to sheer distortion of the facts" and "turned everything upside down." The PRAVDA observer went on to state that it would be "absurd" to accept the U.S. President's claim that the United States is only interested in peace in the Gulf. "Peace will not be achieved by such methods," he wrote. Attempts to justify what took place, he said, "show what a danger is posed to mankind by American forces in areas remote from the United States." The incident was "preprogrammed," he claimed, inasmuch as the Gulf's militarization and the U.S. and allied naval concentration there represent a "loaded gun" with "the hammer inexorably cocked." Another "far-reaching" question in Kolesnichenko's view is that of the implications of the apparent failure of U.S. technology: "If the latest electronic equipment failed to distinguish a cumbersome, slow-moving Airbus from a supersonic fighter, what guarantee is there," he asked, "that in the future the much-vaunted SDI supercomputers will not make the same mistake, with unpredictable consequences? It is clearly also time that America matched the frontiers of its Armed Forces to its own territory."

In a 5 July KRASNAYA ZVEZDA article, V. Pustov also cited Soviet warnings of the "most dangerous consequences" that could ensue from the ongoing increase in the U.S. and allied presence in the Gulf. After observing how "very belated" were the "'profound regrets'" voiced in Washington, Pustov added that the "terrible tragedy" "can in no way be regarded as purely accidental." Noting that the Soviet Union put forward a "constructive initiative" to tackle the "difficult situation" in the region, Pustov said that Washington and other NATO capitals failed to come up with a positive response. He declared that, despite the tragedy, the U.S.Administration plans no changes in a Persian Gulf policy initiated by former U.S. Secretary of the Navy Lehman, which, in the words of THE WASHINGTON POST, has increased to an exceptional degree not only the possibility of serious clashes in international waters but the danger that such clashes could escalate and develop into a nuclear conflict.

TRUD on 5 July carried a "specialist's opinion" by Candidate of Juridical Sciences V. Bordunov, senior scientific associate of the USSR Academy of Sciences State and Law Institute, who disputed the U.S.claim of a "technical error." After dicussing the ways in which civil or military aircraft are identified, he declared that "the Americans knew what they were dealing with." He accused the United States of violating the 1984 amendment to Article 3 of the Chicago convention, to the effect that "every state must refrain from using weapons against civil aircraft in flight," and concluded that the "gross violation of this important principle of international air law...gives grounds for qualifying the U.S. behavior as unlawful, with all ensuing consequences." The trade unions' central governing body, the AUCCTU, issued a statement, carried in the same issue of TRUD, which declaring that "there can be no justification for this barbarous action." The statement demanded an end to the "provocative maneuvers" by U.S. Armed Forces in the Gulf, which "threaten a grave exacerbation of the military-political situation in this region and throughout the world."

The issue of foreign reaction to the incident was raised in 5 July's KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, which claimed that "some British mass media (and primarily BBC television) are responding...in a highly peculiar fashion" designed "to justify the actions of their main allies, the Americans." Prime Minister Thatcher's expression of "profound regret" over the loss of life is juxtaposed with her "full support" for the Americans' actions, which she described as "self-defense," the paper added.

In the "Review of World Developments" on the World Service in English at 0310 GMT on 5 July, commentator Yuriy Reshetnikov asserted that "for practical purposes" the United States "is currently in a state of war with Iran," "whether it wishes or not." The "longstanding" Soviet proposal to install an international force to protect Gulf shipping "is not likely to be accepted any time soon," he continued. He concluded, citing a Western analyst, that the United States should reduce the size of its Gulf force.

Commentator Pogodin, also speaking on the World in Service English at 1110 GMT, reported "clear indications the United States does not intend to assess the tragedy in realistic terms and draw the necessary conclusions," even though "a crime has been committed, a deliberate crime."

A Moscow radio Russian-language commentary at 1500 GMT on 5 July made the point that the "much-praised U.S. military technolgy is far from perfect...if it is incapable of distinguishing a regular airbus from a combat aircraft."

Iran's request for an emergency Security Council meeting on the incident was reported by Moscow English at 1900 GMT on 5 July. TASS English at 1931 GMT reported without comment President Reagan's statement that in downing the airbus the United States had acted upon its "inherent right to self-defense" and his assertion that he considered the incident "closed."

On 5 July, in the only signed commentary observed on Moscow radio's broadcasts in Portuguese to Brazil, Aleksandr Pogodin told Brazilian listeners: "I am sure it was a crime, a programmed crime." Pogodin added: "I want to say this crime is a direct consequence of the policy Washington is pursuing in the Persian Gulf: a policy of force and of the increase of tensions." No signed commentaries were observed on Moscow radio's broadcasts in Spanish to Chile, but an anonymous commentary on 5 July said that "the entire world" reacted with "indignation and condemnation of the policy" that made the incident possible, calling it "a direct consequence of U.S. military actions during the last year to reinforce its presence in the Persian Gulf."

Moscow broadcasts in Indonesian, Hindi, Cambodian, Tamil, Lao, and Vietnamese carried repeats of the previous day's Aleksandr Pogodin commentary on 5 July, as well as a TASS statement reiterating the theme that the downing was the direct result of the U.S. naval presence in the Gulf.

A television commentary by Igor Fesunenko in the "World Today" program on 5 July noted that "statements of disgust and condemnation of the United States" are streaming in from all continents and that "stormy protest demonstrations," regarding not only this "criminal action" but the U.S. military presence in the Gulf, are being staged before many U.S. embassies.

Treatment of the downing in all monitored broadcasts on 5 July was brief, and in most cases it was not the lead item. "Vremya" television newscasts tended to carry these items well down in their presentations.

IZVESTIYA on 6 July publishes a commentary attributed to V. Ivanov, who described the airbus downing as a "natural consequence" of U.S. policy. The past year has shown, he said, that the "massive U.S. presence and the use of force are not conducive to safe navigation." The purpose of the U.S. presence is "to demonstrate U.S. might and keep the Persian Gulf within the Western sphere of influence." In the author's opinion, the incident is evidence of the "tremendous threat inherent in regional conflicts," with the possibility that "any incident" could trigger a crisis. An IZVESTIYA press service item, carried on the same page, reported the continuing search for bodies, provided extracts from the statement made by Captain Will Rogers, and noted the dispatch of a special investigation group to the Gulf region. U.S. analysts were cited as predicting serious complications in the regional situation but no change in administration policy. IZVESTIYA reported Bush and Dukakis as having "on the whole supported the administration's explanation and position on this question," with the former "fully" justifying the captain's actions and the latter urging Iran "to cease its threats against the United States and its Western allies." The V. Ivanov commentary also cited Jesse Jackson's assertion that the downing of the airliner resulted not from equipment or computer failure but from "the failure of administration policy."

TASS English on 6 July carried a dispatch by correspondent Nikolay Turkatenko noting that President Reagan had made "his third statement" in 2 days on the downing, this one in the form of a message to the speaker of the House and the president pro tempore of the Senate. The dispatch characterized the message as "an attempt to justify" the commander's actions. The same report suggested that a 5 July news conference held by a Pentagon spokesman "was also aimed at attempting to justify" the Navy's actions, but failed to explain how its "most sophisticated equipment" could not distinguish an airliner from a fighter. This report, too, cited U.S. presidential aspirant Jesse Jackson's comment that the incident involved "a political blunder" rather than a "technical" one.

TASS English reported on 6 July that Yuliy Vorontsov, first deputy minister of foreign affairs, had visited the Iranian Embassy in Moscow to sign the condolence book. TASS English later reported that a memorial ceremony over the "tragic event" was held at the embassy and was attended by diplomats in Moscow.

In comments also carried by TASS English, an Aeroflot instructor pilot questioned how the incident could have occurred, given that the cruiser was "studded with electronic equipment." The pilot added that circumstances notwithstanding, the downing was a "sequel" to

the "unprecedented build-up" of U.S. military might in the Gulf. He added that "commonsense" dictates that tension in the Gulf can be eased only by reducing the military presence there.

Commentator Aleksandr Pogodin, in remarks carried by Moscow World Service in English on the same day, said that President Reagan's declaration that the United States considers the matter closed is a view "not shared by the rest of the world." Pogodin said that "official" Washington's "obvious desire" to close the case "varies sharply" from the demands of other countries. Concluding, Pogodin stated that "Washington's efforts to compel the interntional community to reconcile itself to the crime are futile."

Drawing a parallel between the Iranian Airbus downing and the crash of a civilian aircraft in Nicaragua, Moscow World Service correspondent Mayorov concluded that "wherever Washington builds up tension and tries to solve problems by military means, unprotected civilians, above all women and children, suffer."

Moscow broadcasts to Latin America and Cuba reported the TASS statement on the incident on 6 July. Commentaries were also carried by these radios, as well as by Radio Peace and Progress in Spanish, that criticized U.S. policy in the Gulf. A representative commentary on Moscow's beam to Cuba said that U.S. servicemen in the Gulf are "victims of a warmongering psychosis" and cannot distinguish between military planes and "huge" civilian aircraft. The commentary called on the U.S. administration to withdraw U.S. forces from the Persian Gulf.

Moscow International Service in Vietnamese carried an unattributed commentary on 6 July in which the commentator stated that he is "firmly convinced that this is a crime and, more precisely, a premeditated crime." As evidence, he declared "that with their tremendous electronic capabilities there is no way that U.S. vessels can mistake one type of aircraft for another." Finally, echoing earlier commentaries, he said that "the crime is a direct consequence of the policy of force and creation of tension that Washington exercises in the Persian Gulf area."

EAST EUROPE

Bulgaria—State Council Chairman Todor Zhivkov and Foreign Minister Petur Mladenov met in Sofia on 5 July with the American UN representative, Vernon Walters, Sofia radio reported. During the meeting, Mladenov "expressed the Bulgarian Government's concern over the tragic incident and confirmed Bulgaria's position in favor of withdrawing the military ships of all countries from the Persian Gulf region." Official reaction continued on 5 July with a 190-word "declaration" from the official news agency BTA. The declaration stated that the "responsibility for this tragic incident falls entirely on the American side," and expressed the Bulgarian people's "sympathy" for the victims.

Press comment included a short article by Georgi Nikolov in the 5 July edition of RABOTNICHESKO DELO entitled "'Tragic Mistake' or Crime," which asserted that the "roots of the human tragedy lie in the presence of the United States in the Persian Gulf." **Czechoslovakia**—The Foreign Ministry "resolutely condemned" the American attack on Iran Air flight 655 as "absolutely unjustifiable," and at variance with Point 5 of the July 1987 UN Resolution on the Iran-Iraq war, CTK reported. A 4 July commentary on Bratislava radio said the "terrorist" attack in the Gulf had "nothing in common" with the downing of KAL flight 007 by the USSR in defense of its airspace. On 5 July, the Communist Party paper RUDE PRAVO published a 550-word commentary entitled: "Lesson Taught By Tragedy." The paper explains that the lesson lies in an American military pullout from the Persian Gulf, and an end to the Iraq-Iran war, which would deprive the United States of an excuse to "meddle." **GDR**—In a statement transmitted by the official news agency ADN on 4 July, the Foreign Ministry described the incident in the Persian Gulf as a "flagrant breach of international law," proving the urgent need to "end this interference" in the region. On the same day, ADN carried a telegram of sympathy from State Council Chairman Erich Honecker to the Iranian president, noting the GDR's "consternation" and "deepest sympathy." On 5 July, the party paper NEUES DEUTSCHLAND claimed that the 290 passengers on the plane "had to die because the United States is...acting as a global policeman in the Gulf." **Poland**—A declaration from the Foreign Ministry on 5 July summarized by Warsaw PAP offered the downing of the Iranian Airbus as "confirmation" of Poland's frequently expressed concern over prolongation of the Iran-Iraq war and the presence of U.S. and NATO ships in the Gulf. According to the same agency, the Warsaw daily TRYBUNA LUDU, official organ of the ruling party, said the United States "could do much more" to end the war "using diplomatic channels." The Army daily ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI claimed that "the undeclared war escaped the control of those who unleashed it." **Romania**—Bucharest radio initiated Romanian coverage of the Airbus incident on 5 July with a 120-word "statement" expressing "deep regret at the very serious action that killed the 290 persons aboard." The official news agency AGERPRES carried a 370-word item on the same day, strongly condemning the episode under the heading: "In Connection With U.S. Naval Forces' Downing of Iranian Passenger Plane—An End Should Be Put to the Aggressive Actions in the Gulf; Fearless Flight of Civil Aircraft Should Be Ensured." In its 5 July "Romanian press review," the agency mentioned a telegram of condolences from President Nicolae Ceausescu to the Iranian president, adding: "The papers stress that public opinion in Romania demands that an end be put to the aggressive action in the Gulf and that the safety of

civil aircraft flight there be secured." **Yugoslavia**—Following a 3 July Belgrade radio report on the death of six Yugoslavs aboard Iran Air flight 655, the station aired a commentary by Milika Sundic, who stated that "the action by the crew of the U.S. cruiser cannot be justified in any way, because it is clear even to a layman that this was a major blunder and irresponsible behavior." A 4 July commentary from Zagreb predicted that "major consequences" would result from the affair, and that the American campaign against the USSR following the downing of KAL 007 "will now rebound on them." "The least" the United States can do, according to the commentary, "is apologize and pay compensation to the families." In a domestic news bulletin from TANJUG on 5 July, a spokesman for the Federal Foreign Affairs Secretariat was quoted as expressing "regret" at the incident, accompanied by "great sorrow and anger." The statement also appealed for "urgent international action" to end the war "on the basis of UN Security Council Resolution 598."

In its 5 July edition, BORBA published factual reportage on the clash, citing IRNA, REUTER, and world reaction, including the response from Britain, France, and Italy. The paper's New York correspondent, Bogdan Decermic, reviewed statements by President Reagan, Admiral Crowe, and the State Department. In addition, the paper included a commentary by Slobodan Pavlovic, who declared that "the insane conflict in the Gulf has taken new, innocent lives," and that the incident "is a warning and appeal to those who started the war, those who do not want to end it, and those who think they are invited to regulate it and decide on it."

WEST EUROPE

Italy—Italian coverage of the incident focused primarily on the Italian frigate "Espero," dispatched to assist in recovering bodies from the downed aircraft. In the first monitored report at 1700 GMT on 3 July, Rome radio noted that there was "great concern" in Italy over the situation. The Italian prime minister expressed "profound condolences" in a report broadcast at 2200 GMT on the same day, while a 1555 GMT radio report on 4 July indicated that the Iranian aircraft had been at an abnormal altitude and "did not respond" to warning signals from the "USS Vincennes." The Italian president's message of condolences to Iranian President Khamene'i was reported by Rome radio at 2030 GMT on 4 July.

At 1730 GMT on 5 July, the radio reported on the Italian foreign minister's response to "urgent" parliamentary concerns about the incident, calling for UN intervention "to stop the conflict" and highlighting the "need for clarification of the Italian Navy's presence in the Gulf." Finally, the radio reported at 2030 GMT on 5 July that the prime minister had met with the opposition Socialist leader to discuss the situation in the Gulf. **France**—Paris radio, in a brief report broadcast at 2000 GMT on 3 July, cited the French Government's "consternation" over the downing and its request that "full light" be "shed as to the circumstances" of the incident. At 1300 GMT on 4 July the radio carried remarks made by the Iranian ambassador in Paris in which he questioned whether the downing was an accident. Khomeyni's declaration of war on the United States was also reported, in Paris radio's 0600 GMT cast on 5 July.

LE MONDE carried an editorial on 5 July crediting the United States for having rapidly admitted its responsibility for the Airbus downing, and noting that the circumstances of the incident were "very different" from those of the Soviet downing of the KAL airliner. The Paris daily added that Iranian "followers of terrorism" would certainly unleash their "fury" against the U.S. presence in the Gulf in response. It suggested that the Iraqis would use the incident to "surreptitiously fuel the conflagration," and implied that they were indirectly responsible for the "tragedy," in that their planes initiated the recent "insane" events by attacking two oil tankers bearing Iranian crude oil.

The conservative LE FIGARO praised President Reagan for having admitted responsibility and having immediately expressed U.S. regret for the "blunder" in the Persian Gulf. The fundamental question raised by the tragedy, according to the paper's 5 July editorial, is whether the United States' strategic choices have been wise. While LE FIGARO noted that the U.S. military "umbrella" has reassured the moderate Arab countries and deterred Iran, it wondered if it might not have been possible to secure the same result through diplomatic means. The paper concluded that the Americans became involved in the Gulf to maintain their credibility, and must now remain there for the same reason.

A commentary by Jacques Coubard appearing in the 4 July edition of the French Communist Party newspaper L'HUMANITE posited that there were no extenuating circumstances for the "U.S. policeman's crime." Coubard concluded by urging France to use its influence to ensure that negotiations are begun to end the Gulf conflict. **Spain**—Madrid radio carried lead items in its midday broadcasts on 3 and 4 July in which the Spanish Government's regret over the "tragic error" was highlighted. The radio linked the Gulf incident to the defusing of a bomb near the U.S. Embassy believed to have been planted by a "radical Islamic group," later reported to be the "International Anti-Imperialist Brigades."

The conservative Madrid newspaper ABC suggested that Washington will have to pay a high price in terms of its image for what was "one of the most serious episodes" in the Gulf war. The paper's 4 July editorial declared that the U.S. naval vessel's "mistaking" of the Airbus for an enemy strike bomber was "unacceptable." It noted, however, that, in contrast to the 1982 KAL case, "we do, in fact, seem to be dealing with an error rather than a deliberate act." **Scandinavia**—Coverage afforded the Gulf incident was sparse overall. Stockholm radio reported at 1600 GMT on 4 July on the heightened

security measures imposed at U.S. airlines and the U.S. Embassy in Stockholm in "fear of Iranian retaliation" for the downing, while Helsinki radio noted at 0830 GMT on 5 July that the Finnish Government had conveyed to the Iranian Government the fact that it "deeply deplores" the incident. Helsinki radio also noted that the Finnish Airline Pilots Association saw the Airbus downing as "an act of terrorism." **Netherlands**—Describing movements in the Persian Gulf as "high noon in the Strait of Hormuz," Amsterdam's DE VOLKSKRANT suggested that Washington is turning things upside down when it upbraids Iran for allowing civil aircraft to fly in a "war zone." Primary responsibility for the incident, the paper argues in a 5 July editorial, lies with the commander of the "USS Vincennes," and not with Iran Air. DE VOLKSKRANT concludes that it is justifiable to state that the United States has seriously overestimated its ability to operate in the Gulf with the necessary level of selectivity. **United Kingdom**—The DAILY TELEGRAPH termed the destruction of the Iranian airliner an "appalling mistake," which may have profound long-term consequences on U.S. Middle East policy and on Iran's relations with the West. In its 4 July editorial, the paper went on to state that the incident should not blind the international public to the success such naval patrols have had in maintaining an open international waterway through which much of the oil supplies for both Japan and the West pass, and noted that Iran cannot be viewed as an innocent party.

Monitored London PRESS ASSOCIATION coverage, beginning with a report at 1845 GMT on 3 July, focused on Britain's concern that there may be an "anti-West backlash" from the incident. Prime Minister Thatcher's expression of "profound regret" was reported, together with comment by the British opposition suggesting that an effort by Britain to distance itself from the United States in the wake of the incident would improve its chances "of bringing back our hostages." A statement by Iran's ambassador declaring that the U.S. personnel responsible should "face a court martial" was reported at 1147 GMT on 4 July. **Austria**—All Austrian dailies carried detailed reports on the Airbus downing in their 4-6 July editions.

Vienna NEUE KRONEN-ZEITUNG in German published a commentary on 4 July stating that while "the tragedy in the Gulf" was not the result of "a barbaric lust to kill," it highlights how easily human error can trigger a catastrophe. On 6 July the paper commented that the incident is a "bloody symbol of the many U.S. failures in this region in the past 10 years."

Vienna DIE PRESSE in German on 5 July carried a commentary comparing the incident to the 1983 Soviet downing of a Korean airliner, and concluding that "nothing can justify the U.S. action."

A report published by Vienna WIENER ZEITUNG in German on 5 July cited the reactions of Austrian Chancellor Vranitzky, Foreign Minister Mock, and President Waldheim. Waldheim was quoted as viewing the development to be "extremely hazardous," inasmuch as there is the danger of "retaliation." Mock expressed the hope that "this tragic sacrifice" will lead "those with political responsibility to be more amenable to talks," while Vranitzky suggested that the deaths of the Airbus passengers demonstrate "how senseless and dangerous the Gulf war is."

The communist newspaper Vienna VOLKSSTIMME in German severely condemned the United States in a 5 July report, recalling the downing of the KAL flight by the USSR and suggesting that on both occasions "the United States wanted to demonstrate its policy of strength," the result both times being the "unscrupulous" sacrifice of "the lives of many civilians." **FRG**—Bonn DIE WELT in German on 4 July carries a commentary by Fritz Wirth declaring that "no one can seriously accuse the United States of having intentionally caused this disaster. Its behavior in the Gulf war thus far excludes this possibility." Wirth went on to note that the United States "has exclusively played the role of a protective power to date, defending uninvolved and defenseless civilians against Iran's aggression." A second commentary by Fritz Wirth entitled "Terrible Consequences," published in Bonn DIE WELT on 5 July, notes that "the political tragedy of this catastrophe lies in the fact that political change is in the offing in Iran, and initial signals of detente have begun to appear between Washington and Tehran." The commentary adds that "it has become a bitter irony of history that U.S. presidents leave office under the stigma of an Iran crisis." Wirth also authored a 6 July commentary entitled "Reagan Insists on Presence in Gulf" in which he said that "the White House is clearly trying to play down the political relevance of the catastrophe." He also noted that the Iranian leaders "do not seem to be in agreement as to their reactions," contrasting Khomeyni's call for "all-out war" with Rafsanjani's warning of "precipitous reactions."

Frankurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German on 4 July published a commentary entitled "Death In the Gulf," noting that "only when death makes the headlines" do we realize that "the killing in the Gulf is endless." On 5 July the paper carried a front-page commentary by Karl-Alfred Odin entitled "The Catastrophe," in which the Iranian Airbus incident is contrasted with the 1983 Soviet downing of a Korean airliner. The author wrote that "the Iranian Airbus approached a warship that did not have enough time to thoroughly identify it, at low altitude and at high speed from a relatively close distance. In contrast, Soviet interceptors flew beside the Korean plane for a long time and identified it before they shot it down, over a region where no fighting was taking place." The commentator went on to say that "while it is not now possible to clearly place responsibility for the downing of the Airbus, it has been demonstrated to the Americans more clearly than ever before just how thoroughy their policy toward Iran invites disaster."

An article by Carlos Widmann appeared in the 5 July edition of Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG, entitled "The Never-Ending Embarrassing Silence," which says that "apart from the regret expressed by President Reagan on Monday night, the U.S. nation did not permit itself to show any internationally noticeable reaction over its festive weekend," in contrast to the "outrageous outburst" that followed the destruction of the Korean airliner. The same paper published a commentary by Dieter Schroeder criticizing the United States for not having taken the necessary precautions to prevent such an incident and concluding that "the United States has jeopardized its peace mission in the Gulf and has contributed to the escalation and extension of the war."

West German reaction monitored from Hamburg DPA included the "great shock" expressed by Foreign Minister Genscher in condolences sent to Iran's foreign minister and the "deep consternation" felt by the federal government. DPA also carried a statement by the Iranian ambassador in Bonn indicating that the United States "consciously" intended to kill the passengers in order to "have an excuse for an attack on Iran." **Greece**—On 4 July, Athens radio reported a statement by a Greek Government spokesman in which he said that the "tragic event" was the "responsibility of the United States," as it has prolonged the tension in the Gulf. The ATHENS NEWS newspaper cited the Iranian ambassador to Greece as saying that the attack "will not go unanswered," though Iran does not want to "extend the Persian Gulf war to neighbouring countries and regions." While Greek papers and Athens radio carried extensive reports on the incident on 4 and 5 July, including ample coverage of U.S. officials' statements and explanations, the only monitored Greek comment on the incident came in a 6 July column published by the communist newspaper RIZOSPASTIS, describing the downing of the plane by the "international terrorist" as "mass murder" and urging the PASOK government to proceed with the removal of U.S. bases from Greece on the grounds that a similar "mistake" could happen anywhere where U.S. forces are present. **Cyprus**—Four Cyprus papers on 5 and 6 July criticized the U.S. downing of the Iranian airliner with varying degrees of severity. The communist paper KHARAVYI called the action "a political crime," while I SIMERINI said that "no excuse can be considered sufficient." O FILELEVTHEROS suggested that the precedent established with the USSR's downing of a Korean airliner cannot remove "the weight of responsibility" for the new incident. ELEVTHEROTIPIA criticized President Vasiliou for attending the U.S. Embassy Independence Day reception "on the day of the great slaughter." While Nicosia radio carried extensive reports on the incident, no reaction or comment was monitored. **Turkey**—The Istanbul newspaper CUMHURIYET commented on 5 July that the downing of the airliner by U.S. forces reveals that "high technology offers no reassurance" and suggested that the superpowers "seem to be behaving in an unbelievably indifferent way." Four other Istanbul papers—MILLIYET, TERCUMAN, HURRIYET, and GUNAYDIN—carried commentaries sounding similar notes, expressing the opinion that great danger results when the superpowers can make mistakes with such disastrous consequences, and declaring that the Gulf war must be brought to an end. Ankara radio reported extensively on the airbus downing, and carried the only monitored official Turkish reaction to the incident, a Foreign Ministry statement broadcast at 1000 GMT on 4 July expressing "deep regret" over the event and urging a speedy and peaceful solution to the Gulf war, arrived at "among the Gulf countries themselves, without any outside interference." The Turkish Foreign Ministry also called on concerned parties "to act calmly and to refrain from provocative acts that might exacerbate the situation." The radio also carried comments by the two opposition parties, the CWP and the SDPP. The former strongly denounced the attack and stressed that such attacks on civilian targets are unacceptable, while the SDPP expressed "deep regret" and urged that "the war that produced this inhuman attack and similar attacks must be stopped."

CHINA

China's official reaction to the American downing of an Iranian commercial airliner on 3 July came in a statement the next day by the Foreign Ministry spokesman, transmitted by XINHUA. The spokesman said the Chinese were "shocked" to learn of the incident, and noted that they "condemn" the action. He also reaffirmed the Chinese Government's opposition to "big power military involvement" in the Gulf, and voiced hope for a peaceful settlement of the Iran-Iraq war at the earliest possible date.

XINHUA's English-language service has carried nearly 80 reports on the incident, including a dispatch from a XINHUA correspondent who visited the scene. The agency's Chinese service has carried far fewer items, roughly a dozen, the bulk of which have cited American and Iranian declarations. Beijing radio's coverage has followed a similar pattern—fewer pieces on the event, with most quoting U.S. and Iranian statements.

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO, the country's leading paper, published a comment in its 5 July edition under the pen name Ming He. The article voiced "shock" at the shooting and reviewed the American and Iranian versions of the incident. While the article noted that a credible account "has yet to be verified," it expressed disbelief that a U.S. warship could mistake an Airbus for a jet fighter. RENMIN RIBAO added that the American military presence in the Gulf can only make the situation there "more complicated," and pointed out that it also infringes on navigation in the region. The piece concluded by calling on both Iran and Iraq to cease hostilities.

EAST ASIA

Japan—The government's official reaction to the loss of Iran Air flight 655 came in a 4 July KYODO report on a news conference by Chief Cabinet Secretary Keizo Obuchi. Obchi told journalists that the government "deeply regrets" the loss of life, and hopes the incident will not lead to increased tension in the Gulf. He also called for an "early and peaceful" settlement of the Iran-Iraq war.

Prime Minister Takeshita, currently on a visit to Australia, offered condolences to the victims and said he hoped there would be no "recurrence" of such a tragedy. He also expressed hope that the "tragic incident" would not lead to an escalation of tension in the Gulf, and came out in favor of an "early, peaceful settlement" of the Iran-Iraq war.

The Japan Socialist Party, a small opposition group, denounced the United States for its action against the plane, which it termed an "unpardonable act." It also urged the United States to halt its "military intervention" in the Iran-Iraq war immediately, apologize for the incident, and compensate the victims' families.

The transport minister, Shintaro Ishihara, mentioned the clash in a meeting with the press following a 5 July cabinet meeting, where he was quoted as saying: "Though the United States has given various explanations, it is a lamentable incident that should not have happened"; "the government as a whole should take measures to guarantee the security of civil aircraft."

In its newscasts on 4 and 5 June, the Tokyo NHK General Television Network broadcast a large number of reports on the episode, including factual material on the event, Japanese reaction to it, its effect on the yen's rate of exchange, Japan Airlines' plan to modify its route over the site of the shooting, and the Transport Ministry's intention to have Japanese tankers continue their convoys through the Strait of Hormuz. **North Korea**—The DPRK Foreign Ministry spokesman, in a statement aired by Pyongyang Domestic Service on 5 July, condemned the "brigandish act of air terrorism" by the "USS Vincennes" in shooting down the Iranian Airbus. According to the statement, the incident "reveals to the world once again that the U.S. imperialists—who fabricated the intrigue of the missing South Korean passenger plane and raved about so-called terrorism and sanctions—are the ringleaders of international terrorism." The Foreign Ministry spokesman's statement concluded that the United States "should stop aggravating tension in the Persian Gulf and immediately withdraw its aggressive armed forces from around the world." Pyongyang KCNA on 5 July reported that the downing by the "U.S. imperialists" was an "intentional" and "malicious act of retaliation for the downing of a U.S. helicopter in their encounter with Iranian naval boats." The report concluded by warning of "intensified military intervention and terrorism" by the United States. **South Korea**—The first official reaction of the South Korean Government to the downing of the Iranian Airbus was reflected in a Foreign Ministry statement carried by Seoul YONHAP on 5 July which instructed embassies in the Middle East to "strengthen measures for the safety of Koreans there in preparation for a possible escalation of the conflict in the region." On the same day, YONHAP transmitted a report on a statement issued by a Foreign Ministry spokesman in connection with the incident which expressed "profound regret" and "deep condolences."

THE KOREA HERALD, in an editorial published on 6 July, said that the "tragic destruction" "underscores the urgent need to find peaceful solution before more lives are lost." Recounting the downing of Korean Air Lines flight 007 in 1983, the paper urged "all nations to join efforts to avoid a repetition of Sunday's tragic mishap, whatever its truth, and to assure a ruling that can bring peace and stability in that region of the world." In a more critical editorial published by THE KOREA TIMES on the same day, a parallel was drawn between the Iranian Airbus downing and the downing of Korean Air Lines flight 007 on 1 September 1983. The editorial said that "now the United States has ironically been put into the Soviets' position" and that it "cannot escape worldwide censure over the undeniable fact that it attacked a passenger plane and killed nearly 300 people." It concluded by urging "restraint" on the part of Iran and "due remedial steps" to be taken by the United States. The two Seoul television stations, Seoul Television Service and Seoul MBC Television Network, carried extensive though generally neutral coverage of the incident. **Philippines**—Acting Foreign Secretary Jose D. Ingles, in a statement reported in the 6 July edition of the independent Manila PHILIPPINE DAILY INQUIRER, extended his government's sympathy to the families of the passengers of Iran Air flight 655, and noted its regret at the loss of "innocent lives." The statement also reiterated an appeal for a peaceful solution to the 8-year war between Iran and Iraq, and expressed hope that all parties concerned "will take effective steps to prevent a repetition of this deplorable incident." The INQUIRER explained that Ingles' statement was in response to an appeal from the Iranian charge d'affaires, who requested condemnation of what he described as an act of "terrorism." In addition, the report quoted President Corazon Aquino, when asked if she condemned the attack, as saying: "I'm still waiting for the results of the investigation...." On 5 July, the same paper published an editorial under the headline "Terrorism," comparing the 3 July incident to the 1983 Soviet downing of a KAL airliner. The editorial called Iran "a Third World nation that asserts its sovereignty and bravely confronts even the mightiest powers in defense of what it regards as its national interest." The paper saw the incident as evidence that "the Iranians and other Third World peoples do not have a monopoly on terrorism. Americans, too, are just as capable of it."

In a 5 June editorial entitled "Hostages of U.S. Foreign Policy," THE MANILA CHRONICLE portrayed the incident as proof that "Americans can be just as murderous as the Soviets." The paper called the event a

demonstration of the fact that "innocent people are very much at the mercy of chance when a superpower chooses to flex its muscle." The editorial also questioned the role of the Philippines in "this dubious political-economic-military effort." **Australia**—Prime Minister Bob Hawke "'very deeply' regretted the disaster, which was a case of mistaken identity during heavy fighting between Iranian and U.S. gunships", in remarks carried by Hong Kong AFP on 4 July. The same item quoted Foreign Affairs Minister Bill Hayden as declaring that the "tragedy underscored the need for a lasting peace between Iran and Iraq." **Indonesia**—The Indonesian Government "regrets" the downing of an Iranian Airbus by U.S. forces in the Persian Gulf, according to a Foreign Ministry statement transmitted on 6 July by the Jakarta press agency ANTARA. The ministry said the tragedy reflected the "increasing importance of efforts to stop the Iran-Iraq war" and noted that "the increasing number of foreign forces entering the Gulf region has increased the risk of involvement in the war."

A 6 July Jakarta radio commentary said the "tragic incident" could be viewed as a factor to persuade those involved in the Gulf conflict to settle their dispute. The station pointed out that the "horrible human tragedy would not have occurred had the United States not sent its warships to the Gulf." However, the radio added that the United States "would not have dispatched its forces to the Gulf had Iran heeded the world's call for an end to its war with Iraq."

In a 5 July statement to ANTARA, Imron Rosyadi, chairman of a parliamentary commission on defense and security, foreign affairs, and information, pointed out that "it is more than proper if the whole world criticizes and even condemns the shooting down of the Iranian jetliner." Roysadi termed the American operation a "shameful act" that "violated human norms." As for President Reagan's defense of the attack as legitimate self-defense, he declared that such an argument "does not make sense." "It is impossible," he continued, "to understand how a U.S. warship with the most modern and sophisticated equipment on board could possibly make a mistake." **Malaysia**—In a strongly worded declaration, reported by Kuala Lumpur BERNAMA on 5 July, the Foreign Ministry announced that the country "deplored" the destruction of the Iranian airliner. The ministry said "it is difficult to believe or accept U.S. claims that its forces could have committed the grave error of mistaking a large civilian aircraft for a military one." The government offered its condolences and "profound sympathy" over "the unmitigated disaster," which caused "consternation and deep anguish." **Thailand**—Commenting on the unofficial discussion of the incident by ASEAN foreign ministers on 4 July, Foreign Minister Sitthi Sawetsila expressed his "deep regret," but "reserved further comment until more details are known," according to the 5 July edition of the Bangkok paper THE NATION. In an editorial in the same issue, under the headline "The U.S. Does What It Can; Iran Suffers What It Must," THE NATION said it is "indeed a human tragedy that U.S. servicemen and officers on "The Vincennes" couldn't tell an Airbus" from a "U.S.-built F-14 Tomcat." The editorial asserted that the "tendency of the U.S. to find solace in comparing this attack with the Soviet downing of the Korean Boeing 747 is, at best, deplorable. Having warned the Iranian Airbus seven times before blowing it off the skies didn't make the act less appalling."

In another editorial on 5 July, the BANGKOK POST urged the United States to "make a dramatic gesture" to defuse the crisis and restore confidence in American policies. In its commentary, entitled "Aftermath of a Terrible Tragedy," the paper mourned the loss suffered by the Iranian people. While the POST said there was no reason to doubt America's claim that the action was accidental, "the firing of a missile at the civilian airliner on a scheduled regular flight must nevertheless be deplored."

Among other press comment, the Thai-language daily MATICHON published an editorial on 5 July declaring that the "United States has no right to justify the incident as 'a proper defensive action' as President Reagan claimed. Such American rights do not cover the attack against a civilian airliner, which represents no threat to the life and property of the United States." The editorial referred to U.S. policy in the Gulf as "mistaken," for it tends to promote violence. As such, the paper recommended that the United States "use this extensive lesson to realize the time has come to adjust its policy in the Persian Gulf." **Vietnam**—On 5 July, Hanoi Domestic Service aired a report that characterized the downing of the Iranian Airbus as "a criminal action by the United States," which "has triggered indignation among the Iranian people and strong protests by world public opinion." The radio then reviewed Iranian Prime Minister Musavi's comments on the episode and a TASS report that called on the U.S. "to withdraw its fleets from the region." No official statements have been monitored from Vietnamese media. **Laos**—Citing TASS, Vientiane Domestic Service presented a report on 6 July covering the destruction of the Iranian passenger plane. On the same day, the station broadcast an "article" on the Iran-Iraq war, describing the loss of the Iran Air jet as further proof that the USSR's "correct and reasonable proposal" to end the Gulf conflict should be implemented.

LATIN AMERICA

Cuba—The Cuban Foreign Ministry condemned the downing of the Iranian Airbus, according to a report carried by Havana International Service on 5 July. The report noted that the ministry rejected the U.S. version of the "massacre," as the equipment aboard the "Vincennes" "can clearly distinguish between military and civilian aircraft." The Cuban Foreign Ministry concluded that the "growing presence" of U.S. forces in the Gulf "represents a danger to international peace and security." A commentary aired by the same station the

previous evening follows a similar outline but makes stronger charges. The commentary describes the "massacre" as a "barbaric act" and suggests that one could be led to believe that "this U.S. attack" was "intentional." It is impossible, the commentary adds, to draw a parallel between this incident and the downing of a South Korean airliner several years ago, for the Iranian plane was in a corridor "well marked on international air traffic maps." The commentary closed by pointing out that with only a few months left in his administration, "Reagan has another crime on his hands." **Nicaragua**—The Nicaraguan Government took advantage of a message from President Daniel Ortega "to the U.S. people" on the occasion of Independence Day to include, in the final paragraph, a comment describing the downing of the Iranian aircraft as "a true act of genocide," which demonstrates U.S. "contempt for international law" and "betrays the ideals of those who fought and died for American independence." The message was aired by Managua radio on 4 July. **Panama**—In an official communique reported by Panama City Domestic Service on 4 July and later carried in full by the government newspaper CRITICA, the Panamanian Government attributed recent events in the Persian Gulf to America's "unbridled desire for domination." The communique charges that U.S. claims of a "mistake or error" are "unacceptable excuses." **Argentina**—A communique released by the Press Directorate at Government House on 3 July and carried by Buenos Aires DYN expressed "deep consternation" over the loss of the Iranian Airbus. The declaration added that the Argentine Government "expects the circumstances and the responsibility of those who caused it to be clarified." The communique also reiterated Argentina's belief that a "quick and final solution" must be found for the conflict. **Brazil**—In a 4 July communique broadcast by Brasilia radio, the Foreign Ministry expressed "deep sorrow" at the loss of "many innocent lives" in the downing of Iran Air flight 655. The statement noted that international civil aviation "must not be threatened by this type of event," and underlined the need for "maximum restraint" by all parties in the Persian Gulf. On 5 July, Foreign Minister Abreu Sodre reported that when President Sarney, who is currently visiting the PRC, learned of the incident, "he deplored it" as an "accident of war." According to Sodre, Sarney added that "we must all work to eliminate wars from the earth, because they are the cause of deplorable disasters such as this." **Uruguay**—In a 5 July communique reported by Montevideo Radio El Espectador, the Foreign Ministry voiced its "consternation" over the downing of an Iranian Airbus by U.S. forces. The ministry also expressed hope that the regional conflict could be resolved in compliance with UN Security Council Resolution 598. In its own resolution on the incident, the Uruguayan Senate, expressing its "deepest consternation" over the action and calling for "a thorough investigation for the total clarification of the tragedy and the determination of responsibility," added its "total and full solidarity with the Iranian people."

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

Ghana—In a strongly worded statement broadcast by Accra radio on 4 July, the Ghanaian Government described the American action in the Gulf as "not only unforgivable and violent, but also as a deliberate provocation against Iran that could lead to an escalation of the Gulf war." The declaration called for "an immediate investigation, under the auspices of the United Nations, into the circumstances of the shooting down of the airliner."

Press and radio commentary has echoed the harsh tone set by the government statement. In a 5 July editorial cited by Accra Domestic Service, the GHANAIAN TIMES suggested that the American operation may have been a "deliberate" attempt "to provoke Iran into direct confrontation" as part of a "U.S. plan to do something dramatic in order to provide a world outcry for an end to the war." On the same day, Accra radio condemned the "halfhearted, even downright callous reaction of Western allies" to the incident, highlighting the UK and Italy in particular. A similar station commentary on 6 July explained that "contrary to President Reagan's opinion, the matter is not closed, and one hopes that when the results of the investigations are known, appropriate sanctions will be applied." **Nigeria**—The Nigerian Government summoned the U.S. ambassador on 5 July to express its "shock" over the incident, and said that "more care should have been taken by the U.S. naval warship." At the same time, the government called on Iran and the families of the victims to "exercise restraint in the face of this tragedy."

In general, the press has been far more critical of the United States. In a 5 July commentary, the NEW NIGERIAN portrayed the killing of 300 Iranian civilians as "an irresponsible and vicious aggression by the desperate power," and likened the act to the "series of crimes being committed by the Americans in the Middle East in the past 10 years." On 6 July, the DAILY TIMES wrote that President Reagan was "fully aware of the consequences" of sending warships to the Gulf, while THE SKETCH called the American claim that the Iranian airliner had been mistaken for an F-14 a "flimsy" excuse. **South Africa**—In remarks reported by Johannesburg radio on 5 July, President P.W. Botha said it was "strange" that while Washington could offer "excuses" for shooting down a civilian airliner, South Africa was branded a "terrorist state" by leading American groups for protecting its "own interests" against "international terrorism."

Further Reportage on 44th CEMA Session

Cuban Official Arrives

LD0407100788 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0700 GMT 4 Jul 88

[Text] A delegation of the Republic of Cuba led by Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, vice president of the Council of State and of the Council of ministers of Cuba, arrived in Prague to take part in the 44th CEMA session.

The Cuban guests were welcomed at Ruzyne Airport by Miroslav Toman, federal minister of agriculture and food.

Cooperation With Non-European Members

LD0607134188 Prague CTK in English 1231 GMT 6 Jul 88

[Text] Prague July 6 (CTK)—Special comprehensive programs of cooperation between the European and the three non-European CMEA member states are discussed at the current 44th session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

Representatives of Cuba, Mongolia and Vietnam informed journalists today of these programs. Deputy Chairman of the Cuban Planning Office Santa Jose Fernandez said that the main aim of the comprehensive program of cooperation between Cuba and the European CMEA member states is to raise the share of processing industry in the Cuban economic structure. This should be reflected also in a new character of Cuban exports to the CMEA countries. At present 90 per cent of these exports are raw materials and farm products. The branches which are now to develop are mainly the engineering industry, electrical engineering, chemical, paper and consumer goods industries. Within its cooperation with the CMEA countries Cuba also plans to raise the production of sugar and citrus fruits and nickel production.

Deputy Chairman of the Mongolian State Committee for Planning Dashdorjiyn Hadhuu described the special program as a new step towards raising the level of the Mongolian economy.

He said that some 55 Mongolian enterprises are to participate in the implementation of the program and that cooperation will concentrate on raising the efficiency of the Mongolian agriculture and on the country's electrification.

Chairman of the Vietnamese State Planning Commission Dau Ngoc Xuan said that the "discussed program constitutes a new stage in the development of our cooperation with the CMEA countries."

He stressed that the program concerns in the long run all branches of the Vietnamese economy and creates good prerequisites for its further development. During the implementation of the program new effective forms of cooperation should be used, he added.

Dau Ngoc Xuan further said that for the fulfilment of the program, Vietnam needs new investments and progressive technology. In this connection he stressed that the CMEA countries have promised to grant Vietnam economic assistance, including long-term credits and are ready to invest in spheres of mutually advantageous cooperation. The CMEA countries will also supply Vietnam with modern technology.

The Vietnamese representative appreciated Czechoslovakia's share in his country's development. Czechoslovakia's cooperation focuses on the development of agricultural plants, infrastructure, science and technology. At present joint programs are being prepared for the production of raw materials and for modernization of the Vietnamese engineering industry.

Debates Continue

LD0607160988 Prague CTK in English 1455 GMT 6 Jul 88

[Text] Prague July 6 (CTK)—Discussion of steps to speed up socio-economic development of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) member states and measures to improve their mutual cooperation was on the agenda of today's second day of the 44th CMEA session, again attended by delegations of all ten members.

Speakers focused on the draft collective concept of international socialist division of labour for the 1991-2005 period, steps to implement the comprehensive program of scientific-technological progress of the CMEA member states up to the year 2000, and the development of economic relations with third countries, the United Nations and international economic organizations.

They supported the concept of international socialist division of labour, but stressed that this was merely the first step which must be further developed and deepened. They recommended that the planning bodies of the CMEA member states should specify this division of labour as much as possible during the coordination of plans for the individual five-year plan periods.

Assessing the implementation of the comprehensive program of scientific-technological progress, the speakers were critical of the fact that although the document has been valid for three years, bureaucratic approaches to it still prevail.

The mechanism based on economic instruments has not been applied fully in the development of scientific-technological cooperation and the questions of financing, prices and other evaluating categories have not yet been fully clarified. Consequently, this program is being implemented to a very small extent by scientific and research institutions and production.

This afternoon, the editorial commission discussed drafts of a resolution, protocol and communique of the 44th CMEA session.

The session continues tomorrow.

Zemljaric Talks With Ryzhkov

LD0607161888 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1508 GMT 6 Jul 88

[Text] Prague, 6 Jul (TANJUG)—FEC Vice-president Janez Zemljaric had talks in Prague today with Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, on the occasion of the CEMA session which Zemljaric and Ryzhkov are attending as heads of their countries' delegations.

In a cordial and friendly meeting Zemljaric and Ryzhkov examined topical issues of Yugoslav-Soviet cooperation and paid special attention to economic relations. They expressed readiness for overcoming the well-known difficulties in the commodities' exchange to intensify its development.

The two sides deemed positive the development of friendly relations between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union. The recent visit to Yugoslavia by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, was stressed to be of particular importance for their development and consolidation.

The talks were attended by Yuriy Maslyukov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Planning Committee, and Dusan Rodic, SFRY ambassador to the CSSR, both members of the delegations attending the CEMA session.

News Conference Held

LD0607174388 Prague CTK in English 1642 GMT 6 Jul 88

[Text] At a press conference later today, CMEA Secretariat Spokesman Vaclav Soukup and Czechoslovak Government Spokesman Miloslav Pavel gave details about the discussion at the CMEA session.

Vaclav Soukup said that the debate on the comprehensive program of scientific-technological progress focused on the electronization of the economies of the CMEA member states. High demands and criticism are characteristic of the session and results which would have been appreciated only a few years ago are now viewed from a critical angle. Today's speakers criticized especially the shortage of electronic components, he said.

Miloslav Pavel informed the journalists about some ideas contained in today's speech delivered by Czechoslovak Premier Lubomir Strougal. He reiterated inter alia the need to create a common market of the CMEA states and the need for firm guarantees in economic relations, and recalled the non-existence of sufficient coordination of the member states' purchase of licences.

Miloslav Pavel announced that Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria had signed today an agreement on the use of national currencies in settling accounts in direct contacts between enterprises. This agreement, similar to that signed by Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union at the beginning of this year, is the first step towards the the mutual convertibility of national currencies.

Atanasov Statement

AU0607193688 Sofia BTA in English 1733 GMT 6 Jul 88

["Georgi Atanasov on Speeding Up Integration"—BTA Headline]

[Text] Prague, July 6 (BTA correspondent)—The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance continued its 44th session here today. The heads of government of the member countries discuss the elaboration of new mechanisms for socialist integration and the acceleration of CMEA members socio-economic development.

"We assess in positive terms the collective concept draft which has been submitted," said the head of the Bulgarian delegation Mr Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers. "The future work on restructuring the mechanism of cooperation and socialist integration is of key importance for the acceleration of economic growth in the CMEA member states, for the further, vigorous advancement of the socialist community." "It is all the more important, therefore, that we should be as specific as possible in deciding what should be done during the first two stages of restructuring up to 1995," Mr Georgi Atanasov went on to say. "The content of work in the next stages of restructuring can and should be fixed in general lines right now. We believe that the efforts to overhaul the integration mechanism and to construct a qualitatively new model of intra-community cooperation should be centred on the creation of a single market of the CMEA member countries, complete with a free movement of goods, services and other factors of production. The need of such a market stems objectively from the logic of the economic reforms in the individual socialist countries, which are centred on the promotion of commodity-money relations, and from the steady internationalization of economic life under socialism. As to the specific comprehensive programs on multilateral cooperation with Vietnam, Cuba and Mongolia, Bulgaria, true to her internationalist obligations and to the best of her capabilities, is prepared to take up an active share in 71 of the total of 178 actions envisaged in the specific comprehensive programs. In the course of our joint work," Mr Georgi Atanasov said, "we will study additional possibilities for our wider participation in the implementation of the programs." Concerning the tasks included in the "national economy electronization" of the Comprehensive Program for Scientific and Technological Progress of the Member Countries up to the Year

2000, Mr Georgi Atanasov said that Bulgaria is ready to take an active part in the development and manufacturing of promising electronics, radio electronics and communications products in multilateral and bilateral cooperation with those CMEA countries which are interested.

Marjai Address

LD0607211688 Budapest MTI in English 1959 GMT 6 Jul 88

[Text] Prague, July 7 (MTI)—On Wednesday morning the 44th session of the CMEA continued with a plenary session in Prague. The participants discussed the concept of the socialist international division of labour into the period of 1991-2005.

In the discussion Jozsef Marjai, deputy prime minister and head of the Hungarian delegation pointed out that the Hungarian side attributes great importance to formulation by the CMEA member states should formulate a new type, advanced strategic approach in cooperation. [sentence as received]

The plan of the collective concept of the international socialist division of labour according to our evaluation, by and large, meets those requirements, which are set in this respect by the session of the CMEA council. We find it important that according to the agreement reached at the high level economic meeting in 1984 appropriate emphasis is laid on the strategically important issue of the long-term fuel and energy supplies.

For us it is of an importance of principle that the concept sets as target a change over to cooperation which is relying on an increasing scale on the increasing role of the commodity and financial relations and the role of the economic and market means and on the widening of the direct production and other relations between the economic units.

In the individual member states the economic conditions for the implementation of the integration measures mature at different times. As a passable road we see the implementation of measures timed according to the individual phases by those countries which are ready to take the measures. In cooperation, even for a longer period, the proven elements of the present cooperation will prevail along with the new forms and means of integration.

The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic attributes outstanding importance to the fast rate development of the electronics industry and the electronization of the economy. We find it basically important to participate in the cooperation aimed at electronization. In this process almost 50 Hungarian companies, institutes and university departments participate.

Following the plenary session at the meeting of the delegation heads the complex programme of scientific-technical development to the year 2000 was reviewed. At its discussion Jozsef Marjai expounded that the results so far fail to meet expectations. Last year no progress was achieved in concentrating resources on the most important tasks. The fragmentation of resources is a cause for anxiety because on the road to top techniques and technologies we fail to progress at the required pace and there is a real danger that our countries' lagging behind aggravates the situation. The most critical phase of the innovation process is the practical introduction of the new scientific and technical achievements and its use in production. This could become the most critical point of the accomplishment of the complex programme. In our view this problem could only be solved on the grounds of company interests.

Such conditions should be created which assure the transfer and utilization of the new scientific-technical results developed in the different countries. The closed constructions based on the exchange of natural goods fail to permit the organization of multilateral and concentrated manufacturing activities, said Jozsef Marjai.

Jakes Receives Delegates

LD0607214988 Prague CTK in English 2007 GMT 6 Jul 88

[Text] Prague July 6 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes today received representatives of the socialist countries' delegations attending the current 44th session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) in Prague.

For Czechoslovakia, the extension of its participation in the international division of labour, especially with the Soviet Union and other CMEA states, is vital. Successful restructuring of its national economy, its modernization and efficient use of scientific-technological progress depend on it. Czechoslovakia is implementing an economic reform with clear pro-integration characteristics, taking regard of economic restructuring in other socialist countries.

Czechoslovakia is interested in a qualitatively higher level of socialist economic integration, an increase in its effectiveness on the basis of a broader use of the economic tools of management and money-goods relations. This is why it is striving for quicker progress in the restructuring of cooperation and activities of CMEA, in the joint solution of monetary, price and currency issues, creation of system prerequisites for the extension of cooperation and specialization in production, establishment of direct contacts between enterprises and organizations, including the founding of joint ventures and the creation of the socialist market, Milos Jakes said.

Speaking on behalf of the delegations, Soviet Premier Nikolay Ryzhkov said that the CMEA session is to help assert new approaches to scientific-technological cooperation in CMEA and take a more distinct step towards substantial deepening of socialist economic integration.

Speaking about the collective concept of international division of labour for the 1991-2005 period, to be adopted by the session, Nikolay Ryzhkov said that further specification of the document and its consistent implementation should be inter alia positively reflected in the fulfilment of the comprehensive program of scientific-technological progress of the CMEA member states up to the year 2000. He stressed in this connection the essential need for restructuring the mechanism of cooperation within the CMEA framework.

Marjai Opens CEMA Economic Conference 22 Jun

AU0607215688 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 23 Jun 88 pp 1,5

[MTI report on opening of CEMA conference on cooperation in production and product quality, in Budapest on 22 June: "CEMA Conference on Cooperation—Processes Should Not Be Directed From Above—Opening Speech by Jozsef Marjai"]

[Text] A 3-day international conference entitled "Cooperation in Production and Product Quality" and organized by the Engineering Industry Scientific Association, the Hungarian Economic Chamber, and the Ministry of Industry opened at the Agricultural and Forestry Workers Trade Union Headquarters in Budapest on 22 June. Bulgarian, Polish, CSSR, GDR, and USSR experts are also participating in the conference which, in addition to general issues concerning cooperation and quality, also deals with issues of cooperation between enterprises in the socialist countries.

The opening speech at the conference was delivered by Deputy Premier Jozsef Marjai, minister of trade. In his introduction, he said that various forms of the international division of labor, such as specialization and cooperation, are playing a major role in the quick adjustment to world economic changes. This is particularly true for smaller countries, including Hungary, countries which have a narrow domestic market and limited resources.

"Participation in CEMA continues to play a decisive role in the foreign economic relations of Hungary," Marjai said. "About 30 percent of our exchange of goods with the socialist countries is based on specialization and cooperation agreements. In the various branches of Hungarian industry, about 120 multifaceted production specialization and cooperation agreements are currently in effect."

"In our cooperation with the socialist countries there are still quite a few qualitative reserves which, if exploited, could contribute to the development of our people's economy. However, it is still necessary to establish the system of legal and economic conditions of cooperation on new bases," noted Marjai, and stressed that a qualitative advance can be made by broadening direct relations between enterprises to also include cooperation in production, and scientific and technological cooperation.

"We have an important task in arousing the interest of our enterprises in initiating the development of independent forms of cooperation which would best suit their own interests. However, political decisions made at the highest level still provide the basis for these relations, and cooperation is not organized on the basis of concrete market requirements."

He recalled that, although the need to develop direct relations between the economic units has been discussed by CEMA for a long time, no significant progress has yet been made. The changes discernible in the Soviet Union and the need to develop CEMA have again brought this issue to the fore. Several bilateral agreements which establish a qualitatively new framework for cooperation have already been concluded, but several fundamental issues without which the agreements cannot function remain unsolved. "We think that the CEMA countries still continue—though not at the same level—to direct the processes from above, and that their enterprises are not as independent as would be required for their assumption of independent responsibility in international cooperation. This, in turn, limits the efforts of Hungarian enterprises to expand their relations.

"So far, the division of labor between the CEMA countries has generally focused on finished products, but we will have to change this. The thinking which centers on finished products should be replaced by specialization and cooperation based on units, components, and individual technological stages. Cooperation in the processing and engineering industries, as well as innovative cooperation could comprise a new driving force for developing the Hungarian economy and implementing structural reorganization tasks. However, these relations and the development of cooperation in production in general, are obstructed by endeavors which—in the case of products supplied within the framework of cooperation agreements—encourage the use of separate pricing methods in cooperation, methods which are different from the pricing principles generally adopted by CEMA." In this connection, Marjai said that it is really necessary to modernize the system of prices, but the creation of a common currency within CEMA, which would also facilitate multilateral accounting, is an essential condition for the consistent implementation of any kind of system of prices. This has always been supported by the Hungarian economic leadership. In concluding his speech, Marjai said that, as regards product quality, the CEMA markets are making increasingly greater demands on manufacturers, and that these demands should also be expressed in areas of cooperation.

After Marjai's speech, the participants listened to several lectures on issues of cooperation and product quality, and a debate was later held in sessions dealing with sectors.

U.S. Gulf Presence 'Pretext for Aggression'

AU0607192788 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 4 Jul 88 p 1

[Genc Kondi article: "Fresh American Act of Piracy"]

[Text] The Iranian news agency IRNA reported yesterday that ships of the U.S. military fleet, the cruiser Vincennes and the frigate Montgomery, sank two Iranian ships near the Strait of Hormuz, while Iranian forces retaliated by bringing down an American helicopter. This was the second case of an armed clash between the two countries since last April.

But the most tragic event in this context was a different one. In the heat of combat, an Iranian civilian aircraft on its way from Bandar Abbas to Dubai was hit by two missiles from the American warships, and fell into the waters of the Gulf. There are no reports yet about victims, but it is thought that there are no survivors among the 298 passengers aboard the aircraft. A White House spokesman, during a routine press conference in Washington, replied to journalists' questions concerning this incident, saying that "A mistake must have been made," and that "The Reagan administration is trying to gather information about what happened." With such phrases, American officials wash their hands like Pontius Pilate. But they say nothing—and have never said anything—about why American ships and aircraft are thousands of miles from American shores. What can American propaganda say now about its "peaceful" mission in the Persian Gulf? The real mission of the American "minesweepers" in this region is not making international waters safe, but the incitement of tensions and military provocation, and the cooking up of pretexts for aggression against Iran. This hideous crime is now added to all these things, carried out in cold blood against a civil airplane filled with innocent people. All excuses are in vain. Washington has learned no lesson from Libya in 1986, and is ready to murder old people and children anywhere in the world in pursuit of its aims.

Press Reports Close of CPSU Conference

AU0607201888 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 3 Jul 88 p 4

[ATA report: "In Few Words"]

[Text] Moscow—As the Soviet news agency TASS reports, the proceedings of the 4-day pan-Soviet party conference ended in Moscow yesterday. This conference was devoted to "the results up till now and the tasks for the future" in implementing the reforms started 3 years ago by Gorbachev, now familiar as "perestroyka" and "glasnost." The conference approved some resolutions for this purpose.

Crop Protection Agreement Signed With Bulgaria

AU3006085688 Tirana ATA in English 0740 GMT 30 Jun 88

[Text] Tirana, June 30 (ATA)—The Convention in the Field of Protecting Crops and Quarantine was signed in Tirana on June 29 between the Government of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

The convention was signed for the Albanian side by Stefan Qirjako, vice minister of agriculture, and for the Bulgarian side by Nikola Fotev, vice chairman of the Central Council of Agroindustrial National Union. Attending the signing ceremony were Ajet Ylli, chairman of the Committee of Science and Technique; Piro Bita, director at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, etc.

Present was also the interim charge d'affaires of the Embassy of the PR of Bulgaria in Tirana, Yordan Iliev.

During its stay in our country, Nikola Fotev, vice chairman of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Agroindustrial National Union was received by Themie Thomai, minister of agriculture, who exchanged opinions with him on the cooperation between the two countries in the field of agriculture.

Likewise, the delegation visited research-scientific institutes of agriculture and sociocultural centers in the districts of Tirana, Durres, Kruje, and Lushnje.

Doubt Voiced Over U.S. View of Airbus Tragedy

AU0607115988 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 5 Jul 88 p 5

[Article by Georgi Nikolov: 'Tragic Mistake or Crime?']

[Text] The world is shocked. The U.S. missile cruiser "Vincennes" has shot down an Iranian civil airliner on a scheduled flight from Bandar Abbas to Dubayy.

After a delay of 11 hours the U.S. side admitted that the "tragic mistake," that is to say, the crime, was their fault. Regrets were also expressed. President Reagan called the incident a "terrifying human tragedy," but immediately added that the crew of the "Vincennes" had "acted correctly in self-defense."

What self-defense? The captain of the "Vincennes" justified himself by saying that because of the poor visibility he took the passenger plane to be an Iranian F-14 warplane. Who will believe this? How could the crew of the U.S. naval vessel, with the most modern radar equipment, fail to distinguish the Airbus from a "Phantom." It was perhaps for this reason that William Crowe, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, attempted to justify the guilty men by claiming that "the suspect aircraft was flying outside the corridor designated for international flights."

One must look for the roots of this human tragedy elsewhere—in the American presence in the Persian Gulf. The United States stationed its Navy there under the pretext of guaranteeing the security of international navigation. However, as events have shown, security does not exist. What is more, the U.S. military presence has heightened tension, a number of dramatic U.S.-Iranian naval clashes have taken place, and the tanker war has not ceased. The United States went even further, and declared, without being invited, that their fleet will guarantee the security of all commercial vessels in the Persian Gulf. Thus they appropriated for themselves the right to behave in this region as if in their own territorial waters.

The sensible proposals of the Soviet Union that all foreign naval vessels should be withdrawn from the Persian Gulf and freedom of navigation guaranteed by an international fleet under the UN flag were rejected by the United States. Why? Because the United States is interested more in its military presence in this region, to be able to control its oil wealth, than in ensuring the safety of sea and air navigation.

The tragedy of the Iranian civil airliner is not a "tragic mistake," but a tragic consequence of the Pentagon's actions in a region many thousands of miles from the U.S. borders.

U.S. Version Examined

AU0607133988 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 5 Jul 88 p 4

["Postscript" by Detelin Vulkov to TASS declaration datelined Moscow, 4 July, and BTA report datelined London, 4 July]

[Text] According to Washington's terminology, the annihilation of 298 people is merely a "tragic mistake." From a humanitarian viewpoint this is pure genocide—for 300 people represent the population of a medium-sized village!

Again, according to American military-political terminology the accumulation of a fleet of over 70 vessels (not including those of the other countries) in the waters of a small gulf like the Persian Gulf is nothing more than "a limited presence in the region of local conflict." As far as the dozens of clashes that have already taken place with Iranian combat units are concerned, which have led to casualties on both sides, the terminology of Washington's expansionism defines these as "conduct of defensive combat actions," even when it is a case of acts of clear provocation.

However, terminology is one thing, but the real facts are something completely different, and these show how the United States is being drawn more and more deeply into the "swamp" of the Persian Gulf conflict. The incident with the frigate "Stark" demonstrated to the wise men of the Pentagon that everything in nature is counterbalanced—threat gives rise to threat, and force to force. Yet it appears that both in the Pentagon building and on Capitol Hill people forget lessons very quickly.

Perhaps the reason lies neither in a bad memory nor in erroneous terminology. It is rather merely a consequence of the orientation of the present U.S. Administration toward solving global problems by means of force.

Until such time as the entire foundation of U.S. foreign policy begins to be built upon the principle that every nation has the right itself to choose its own path of development, the risk of "local conflicts" leading to a new "Vietnam syndrome," before the traces of the old one are even extinguished, will remain.

Atanasov Condolences to Iran on Airbus Tragedy

AU0607113488 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 5 Jul 88 p 6

[Text] Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, has sent to Mir Hoseyn Musavi, prime minister of the Islamic Republic of Iran, a telegram of condolences in connection with the tragic death of the passengers of the Iranian civil airline, who fell victim to the irresponsible actions of the U.S. Armed Forces.

Deep sympathy is expressed to the relatives of those who perished from the Bulgarian people and government.

Hungarian-Romanian Conflict Examined

AU0607135888 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 1 July 88 p 6

["Announcements of the Hungarian and Romanian Press Agencies"]

[Text] Budapest, 30 June (TASS)—As the Hungarian press agency MTI announces, in the evening of 27 June 1988 a group of citizens organized a peaceful demonstration in Budapest. The participants, approximately 25,000 to 30,000 people, heard an appeal and a memorandum voicing protest against changes planned by the Romanian Government in the territorial-administrative structure of the country, in particular regarding the intention to eliminate a number of small villages where citizens of Hungarian, German, and Romanian nationality are living and of resettling them in large centers of population.

The participants in the demonstration tried to explain that this manifestation is by no means directed against the SR of Romania and the Romanian people and that they are protesting against a policy which creates obstacles regarding the observance of the rights of national minorities and destroys the ancient culture of these settlements, MTI pointed out.

The MTI agency additionally disseminated an announcement in connection with the decision of the Romanian party and state leadership to interrupt the activities of the Hungarian Consulate General in Cluj-Napoca.

In pointing out the seriousness of a step such as the violation of a consular agreement between the Hungarian People's Republic and the SR of Romania, the Hungarian press agency stresses the resolve of the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic to conduct a policy aimed at the intensification of friendship between the two peoples and at a multilateral development of Hungarian-Romanian cooperation.

MTI also recalls that at the end of 1985 Romania closed its Consulate General in Debrecen, which was attributed to economic reasons.

As MTI reported, Istvan Oszi, deputy minister of foreign affairs of Hungary, informed Ioan Cira, the charge d'affaires ad interim of the Romanian Embassy in the Hungarian People's Republic about the Hungarian Government's stand in connection with Romania's decision to close the Consultate General of the Hungarian People's Republic in Cluj.

Bucharest, 30 June [TASS]—As the Romanian news agency AGERPRES reported, on 27 June 1988 plenums of the Council of Working People of Hungarian Nationality and of the Council of Working People of German Nationality in the SR of Romania were held on 27 June 1988 in Bucharest.

The plenums pointed out the consistency of the policy conducted by the RCP and the Romanian state for the rational distribution of productive forces on a territorial scale, aimed at the economic and social upsurge of all provinces and zones in Romania, including those where Romanian citizens of Hungarian and German nationality are living, as well as the consistent care to ensure equal labor and living conditions for all citizens of the country.

A plenum of the RCP Central Committee approved the contents of a letter from the RCP Central Committee to the MSZMP Central Committee on relations between Romania and Hungary. As AGERPRES announced, the participants in the plenum noted that in the interests of both peoples everything should be done to normalize relations between the two socialist countries which should proceed in a spirit of cooperation, confidence, and good neighborliness, on the basis of equal rights, respect for independence and sovereignty, as well as noninterference in each other's domestic affairs, cooperation, mutual assistance, and other joint documents.

Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP Central Committee is reported speaking at the plenum, stating as follows: History has ordained that the Romanian and Hungarian peoples be neighbors and it is their duty to cooperate as closely as possible for the sake of economic and social progress. The parties, leaderships, and governments of the two countries are responsible for the implementation of the peoples' aspiration for cooperation and good neighborly relations.

Bulgarian-CSSR Economic Agreement Signed

AU0607194488 Sofia BTA in English 1752 GMT 6 Jul 88

[Text] Prague, July 6 (BTA correspondent)—Mr Stoyan Ovcharov, minister of the economy and planning of Bulgaria, and Mr Jaromir Zak, minister of finance of Czechoslovakia, today signed here an agreement between the governments of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic on the use of their respective national currencies as instruments of payment within the framework of direct contacts, as well as in the establishment and operation of joint Bulgaro-Czechoslovak associations, enterprises and organizations.

Under the agreement, these economic units will be able to settle their accounts not only in transferable rubles but also in Bulgarian leva and in Czechoslovak korunas. Mr Stoyan Ovcharov said that the agreement takes the economic cooperation between companies in the two countries an important step forward. This new approach to economic and techno-scientific cooperation is expected to give further impetus to the promotion of modern forms of integration and direct production, scientific, technological and cooperation ties between those organizations. The agreement makes it possible to effect payments without taking account of limits, advance arrangements and specifications. The economic organizations themselves will decide on a case-by-case basis whether payment in national currencies is feasible and sufficiently cost-effective to be opted for.

Iranian Ambassador Condemns Airbus Incident

LD0607142288 Prague CTK in English 1227 GMT 6 Jul 88

[Text] Prague July 6 (CTK)—The shooting down of an Iranian Airbus by a U.S. warship was strongly condemned by Iran's ambassador to Czechoslovakia Hamid Reza Hoseyni at a meeting with newsmen here today.

The ambassador said that claims of U.S. authorities that the Iranian plane had been shot down "by mistake" were ridiculous, pointing in this context to advanced U.S. technology. He said the Iranian Government had urged the U.N. Security Council to investigate the matter and condemn the U.S. Administration for this crime. The government also turned to other international organizations and countries asking them to condemn the U.S. aggression against human norms.

The Iranian Embassy statement, handed to journalists, said inter alia that "the act of state terrorism of the U.S. Government in this horrible massacre should make everyone rethink the U.S. false claim of being the defender and in the forefront of the human rights activities. The aggressive policy of the American system is now more evident than ever before. The U.S. intervention in Vietnam and its involvement in the internal affairs of the South American countries, Africa and Asia is not yet erased from one's memory and now this military presence in the Persian Gulf shows its true and horrible face".

The criminal attack of the U.S. Navy on the Iranian plane was the most barbaric and inhumane measure against innocent Muslim people of Iran and this tragic event will remain permanently in the history of aggressions of the American forces in the region, the statement said, stressing that the Iranian Government would take all measures within the framework of self-defence, with the aim to prevent a repetition of U.S. attacks.

Iran To Stress Political Response

LD0607193888 Prague Television Service in Czech 1730 GMT 6 Jul 88

[Excerpts] According to news agencies, new facts are continually emerging, concerning the Sunday tragedy of the Iranian Airbus, shot down by the U.S. cruiser over the Persian Gulf. [passage omitted] What will happen next? The U.S. side has so far limited itslf to an official statement of deep regret. The Iranian side, however, expects more. This was confirmed at today's press conference by Hamid Reza Hoseyni, Iranian ambassador in the CSSR, whom we asked what changes in the official Iranian policy toward the United States might now be expected.

The Iranian representative pointed to the fact that his government has decided to follow, above all, a political and diplomatic path. It has turned to the UN Security Council and is expecting an international condemnation of this act and appropriate compensation from the United States. The political and diplomatic recourses of the Iranian leadership, however, need not be the only means. If need be, economic and even military forms may be called for, the Iranian ambassador said among other things.

Further on the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference

Commentary Praises Conference

AU0507141188 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 30 Jun 88 p 1

[Editorial: "Inspiration and Source of Instruction"]

[Text] The All-Union Conference of the Soviet Communists has attracted great attention. Friends of the Soviet Union, among them also our people, have been looking forward to it with exceptional interest with the conviction that it transcends, by its significance, the borders of the Soviet Union and the life of the CPSU. The creative development of Marxism-Leninism, seeking and finding answers to numerous topical questions, which currently all socialist countries are addressing in one form or another, is a valuable source of inspiration, which enriches the theory and practice of socialism on an international scale. The speech delivered by Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev at the 19th CPSU Conference on Tuesday [28 June] fully affirmed this.

Many communist parties in the socialist countries have been very intensively addressing topical issues concerning the further development of the socialist society lately. Our party made this effort markedly at the seventh and ninth sessions of the CPCZ Central Committee. First important steps have been undertaken to implement economic reform, perfect the political system, restructure the party work, and democratize the whole of life. A number of communist parties are resolving these issues at their statewide conferences.

One could say that this creative and innovative process is a collective feat, during which there occurs mutual enrichment by the best of what individual countries have been testing in their "national laboratory" of socialist practice.

It is understandable that in building socialism each of the socialist countries proceeds from its own conditions, from the degree of its economic, political, and cultural development, from traditions, customs, and national mentality, but, at the same time, it pragmatically relies on what has been seen to be generally valid.

This is why the attention of our society is also focused on Moscow these days, on the 19th CPSU Conference, which not only assesses the past 3 years, but also—and above all—is programming the future of the Soviet society.

In the contemporary social changes in the USSR, the Communist Party has the key position of initiator and organizer. Therefore, everything Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev said in his speech about the leading role of the party and about the way the CPSU will implement this role under the new conditions, is of lasting interest to us in Czechoslovakia. After all, we too are pondering how to change the situation when party bodies and organizations frequently took upon themselves the responsibility for state and economic bodies. The CPCZ Central Committee addressed this question in detail last April.

"The mission of the party, founded on Marxist-Leninist teaching, is to work out a theory and strategy of social development, and domestic and foreign policy, create the ideology of socialist renewal, carry out political and organizational activity among the masses, and train and place cadres," M. Gorbachev said. In order to implement the function of the CPSU as political vanguard, he stressed that the party must fundamentally restructure its activity, the style, methods, and forms of its work.

The 19th conference comprehensively explained why the Soviet political system must be reformed. The following questions might ensue: After all, the Soviet Union has the unique experience of being the world's first socialist democracy, the forms and methods of people's rule begotten by socialism had an immense influence on the social progress of mankind, and they have become a part of the political culture of the present times. Why, then, a fundamental political reform? The answer is: At a certain stage, the political system created after the victory of the October Revolution moved away from the foundations laid by Lenin. These issues, like all the others, are being discussed quite openly and critically at the conference. "Today it is necessary to have the courage to admit that if the political system remains inert, does not change, we will not be able to cope with the tasks of restructuring," Comrade Gorbachev declared.

It was said at the conference that the CPSU will be resolving the following main tasks:

—Doing everything to involve millions of working people in the management of the country—not by words, but by deeds;

—opening the widest possible scope for processes of society's self-regulation and self-management, creating conditions for the full development of initiative by citizens, representative power bodies, party and social organizations and work collectives,

—setting up a mechanism for freely forming and manifesting the interests and the will of all classes and social groups, their coordination and realization in the domestic and foreign policy of the Soviet state;

—ensuring conditions for the further free development of all nations and nationalities, for strengthening their friendship and equal-rights cooperation in the spirit of internationalism;

—radically consolidating socialist legality and legal order in order to exclude the possibility of seizing and misusing power, effectively opposing bureaucratism and formalism, and ensuring reliable protection of the constitutional rights and freedoms of citizens, as well as their fulfillment vis-a-vis society and the state;

—accurately delineating the functions of the party and state bodies in the spirit of the Lenin's concept of the role of the Communist Party as the political vanguard of society and the role of the Soviet state as the instrument of people's power;

—establishing an effective mechanism to ensure a timely self-renewal of the political system while taking into account the changing domestic and international conditions, a system capable of ever more actively developing itself and introducing the principles of socialist democracy and self-management into all spheres of life.

The final objective of such reform of the political system and the main criterion of the extent to which it is successfully introduced in life is the comprehensive enrichment human rights and enhancement of the social activity of the Soviet people.

The draft of the reforms which the conference is assessing is aimed at accelerating the process of a broadly-based involvement of the working people in the management of the country's affairs. And further conditions are to be created for this—the election system will be changed, the structure of power and management bodies will be reorganized, and the appropriate legislation will be perfected. That, naturally, presupposes corresponding changes in the social consciousness of millions of people.

If we were to stress the main principle of the change of the political system, as was introduced at the 19th Conference, we would say: Not a single state, economic, or social issue can be resolved without the Soviets. The party's policy— economic, social, and nationalities—must be implemented, above all, through the Soviets of people's deputies as organs of people's administration.

The stimuli which resound at the 19th CPSU Conference are worth pondering. As the CPCZ Central Committee expressed in a greetings telegram recently sent to Moscow to the conference, the political line of the 27th congress and other sessions of the CPSU Central Committee, has won the full support of the Czechoslovak Communists, and has become an inspiration and source of instruction for the solution of the difficult tasks of socialist construction in the CSSR.

There is no doubt that the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, too, will be an inspiration and source of practical instruction to us.

RUDE PRAVO Dispatches

AU0607153588 [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 29 June and on 1 and 2 July carries Moscow dispatches by Milan Jelinek, the paper's special reporter, on the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference.

The 750-word dispatch of 29 June (carried on page 1) is entitled "The Party Leads, the People Make the Decisions"; it states that "the key issues now discussed by the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference are socialist democracy and the understanding of the role of party and the state. Soviet Communists have declared that they see the reform of the political system as a task of basic significance. This makes us think (for the first, but not last time), in an effort to fully grasp the contents and depth of the many truly revolutionary ideas contained in the extensive report presented by Mikhail Gorbachev. In fact, this is not reform in the sense of a reversal [prevrat], for it is concerned with improving and developing the political mechanism of the socialist society. The continuity of political thinking and practices is both manifest and obvious in it."

After speaking on the background of the reform idea, Jelinek says that it will involve "a learning process, many trials which will test the standards of the political culture of every individual and of the society as a whole. In other words, it will be a lengthy complicated process which will no doubt involve both experiments and corrections. Soviet Communists have admitted that so far they underrated many problems in the development of restructuring, since they knew nothing of their depth and causes"; thus "to join the policy of restructuring means to publicly vote for socialism, to democratically elect the social system which intends to fully implement the communist ideas of freedom, democracy, humanism, and social justice."

The 1,100-word dispatch of 1 July (carried on page 6) is entitled "The Art of Comradely Dialogue"; it reports on Gorbachev's exchange of views with Mikhail Ulyanov, chairman of the RSFSR Drama Artists Union, calling his statement "remarkable, impassioned, presented with a great deal of emotion and a number of stimulating thoughts" which Gorbachev supported. Jelinek notes that, on discovering a "serious mistake" in it, Gorbachev immediately opened a debate and set up two rules: It must adhere to socialist values and not offend man's dignity. This method of publicly assessing problems is not unique at the conference, Jelinek says; it is most significant since it is a prerequisite for attaining the lofty goals of socialist construction. "Both Soviet Communists and the entire Soviet society are now learning the art of dialogue. I think this a very apt term, since it would be neither sincere, nor serious to claim that everything is running smoothly, without complications, difficulties, conflicts, and clashes. After all, the very contents of the conference discussion tellingly prove this," Jelinek says; he points out that discussions are "the only possible way to find correct solutions," that they are "one of the laws governing Marxism-Leninism," that "nobody has a monopoly on truth"—a precept "until recently forgotten by many people in the USSR and one which some people refuse to remember even today." "Dogmatism (which Soviet Comrades continue to regard as the main enemy and braking mechanism of the restructuring policy) is also manifested in the stubborn endeavor to let a small circle of people, small groups, adopt decisions. Such political thinking, such practices are totally opposed to the principles on which socialist society is built—that is why they are so harmful for its development (as proven by past experience)."

Jelinek then speaks of "another threat to the policy of restructuring," coming from the press and the cultural field, i.e. the banning of certain views, slander of their protagonists, the trend to settle accounts, to suppress criticism and socialist democracy, etc. Stressing that the CPSU "will not permit socialist democracy to be bowdlerized," Jelinek concludes: "The socialist society will have supremely mastered the dialogue and discussion when it learns to admit "I have been wrong, I was ignorant, I was in error," and to draw conclusions for practical behavior. But let us be honest (and our Soviet friends also frankly say it): Even this high forum, the all-union party conference, is still not practicing this to the desirable extent; because democracy must be learned!"

The 750-word dispatch of 2 July (carried on page 6) is entitled "Why Reform?" and states that, while the "conference has fully agreed" that "a political reform, a radical improvement of the political system of the socialist society is both necessary and essential," it must not become an organizational directive or a "shifting of executive powers inside the political system from side to side. It is necessary to eliminate administrative views, all illusions that a magic wand has now been found, one wave of which will suddenly make the path forward smoother." Jelinek says that Gorbachev repeatedly had to explain this to the plenum, recalling that "Central Committee sessions, resolutions, decisions, numerous past attempts to achieve transformations in line with the development of the Soviet society" had all come to nothing because "the masses of working people had not joined the desirable transformations, had not identified their material and spiritual interests with the programs presented by the party for various spheres of life."

Jelinek speaks of the immense significance of the party's "role as the leading force in society; it must develop its potential as a political force" and vanguard, for "the CPSU has sufficient tools of political leadership at its disposal," the most powerful and often mentioned one being that party members hold all the decisive cadre positions in the society. "The reform of the political system will enable the CPSU to gradually ascend to a

higher level in leading the society and, naturally, to set up a more exacting program of socialist construction"; it is also morally bad and unacceptable for a Communist to assess matters from the viewpoint of his personal advantages. "This," Jelinek concludes," is undoubtedly one of the outstanding thoughts of the Soviet conference and one which we in Czechoslovakia are also pondering."

Editorial Assesses Conference

AU0607140388 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 5 Jul 88 p 1

[Editorial: "Pioneering, Innovative, Creative"]

[Text] Pioneering, innovative, creative—this is how the purpose and results of the 4-days of work of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference can be expressed laconically. The conference, which we in Czechoslovakia followed with exceptional interest,—and there is no need to have any doubts about it—will to a significant degree influence the theory and practice of socialism.

The value of the conference will be definitely assessed by the future, because every political intention acquires social realities the moment it undergoes the practical test of life. But one thing is certain: the 19th CPSU Conference further developed the program of the 27th CPSU Congress, showed new horizons of qualitative perfection and changes of Soviet society, it provided comprehensively worked-out directives for further socialist development.

Not all resolutions of the 19th Conference have been published yet, but what we heard in the Palace of Congresses in the Kremlin, what we read about the deliberations, attests undoubtedly to the fact that the program of the reform of the USSR political system is a far-reaching measure which strives for transposing the ideas of a higher level of socialist democracy into the rules governing the life of Soviet society. That also was the main question which the conference assessed.

The crux of the reform, as it has been said many times, is to increase the working people's share in the sphere of decisionmaking and also of the responsibility and implementation of those decisions. Here powers and responsibility are one, both sides of the coin weigh the same. The Soviets are acquiring a role in the socialist system which is theirs as organs of the people's power in the full sense of the word. One can become a socialist manager only in the system of self-management, when not only the right to make a decision exists, but also the duty to fully carry the burden of its weight, its consequences. The well-known slogan "We will live the way we work" acquires a new quality at this time.

In the USSR they are initiating a long-term process, which is—without a doubt—new, and therefore complex. Social practice which mercilessly tests what is viable and what is not, what is useful, and what contributes, will announce a verdict concerning the need for corrections, amendments, improvements, perfection. One has to learn democracy, but one cannot learn it in any other way but by practicing it in social life; with all its attributes—the secret elections, the electability at all levels of the management sphere, the right to select and elect, and make use of one's vote.

At the center of the conference's attention was the issue of the new role of the Communist Party as the political vanguard of society. How does the CPSU define its position? On the highest, the decisive level, it calls the sphere of political strategy and the spiritual leadership of society its own. It will—by means of the system of ideological education—mobilize society for social development programs, and work out future projects. It will be an ideologue in the best sense of the word, a political vanguard which by training cadres ensures that the most competent, the best ones, and therefore those elected by the system of socialist democracy run society.

These are the principles upon which V.I. Lenin built the party. He created the party for this leading role in socialist society and everything the CPSU is doing now has its origin in a profound and new clarification and comprehension of activity, which is rightly called the Leninist style of work.

Also the issue of public information, of glasnost, had an important place in the deliberations of the conference. The CPSU regards it as one of the driving forces of restructuring. Openness in politics also means a high degree of responsibility. The comprehension, and also the implementation, of this principle are of cardinal importance in the country's contemporary political life.

It was impossible not to notice phenomena—in society, but peripherally also at the conference—which show that there is not a 100-percent understanding of this extremely serious problem. As it was stressed at the conference, openness in policy does not mean a haven for group-building, for the distortion of facts, and even less for settling accounts. Therefore, the delegates' speeches unequivocally condemned group and departmental ambitions, prejudice, and attempts to arrogate the monopoly on the truth.

Therefore, the Soviet friends now put such exceptional stress on political culture, culture of criticism, and culture of comradely polemics. On the other hand, and Lenin used to emphasize this, the party is stressing information which begets knowledge, and enables the party and society to defend themselves and to reject.

The CPSU will not retreat a single step from the policy of public information. However, a discussion, that common announcement of the fruits of ideas, must be held within one limiting framework—within the framework of socialist values. After all, what is involved is not just any democracy, but democracy of the working people, democracy in a socialist state, truly popular democracy,

socialist [previous word published in widespace] democracy, a political instrument which opens creative fountains, sources and advantages of the socialist social system. Glasnost is not just a slogan, it is a permanent component of the CPSU's practical policy.

The conference of the Soviet Communists was of immense interest to the world public. It was an exceptional event; yes, the disputes, polemics and clarification of doubts included. Problems were publicly assessed, without hindrance, face to face. Even in that respect the party conference was a school for all society.

The CPSU has again taken the role of bold pioneer upon itself. Its activity is inspiring. It addresses in many respects the general issues of the theory and practice of socialist construction. It leans on its own immense experience as well on the experience of other socialist states. Its own practice, as well as the study of the collective experience of the socialist community in the sphere of political system, economic reform of the cooperative sector, social care, and many other spheres, made it possible for the CPSU to adopt bold and absolutely innovative solutions.

Soviet restructuring—at the very beginning as well as now, in the course of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference—presented to world socialism new, important stimuli.

SFRY's Ckrebic Pays Official Visit

Arrives 3 Jul

LD0307224088 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2008 GMT 3 Jul 88

[Text] Prague, 3 July (TANJUG)—Member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium Dusan Ckrebic arrived this afternoon in Prague at the invitation of the CPCZ Central Comittee. In the framework of this friendly working visit Ckrebic will have talks with representatives of the CPCZ on programs of economic reform and topical issues in the social development of the two countries.

At the airport Ckrebic was met by Jozef Lenart; member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee. Also present to meet him was Dusan Rodic, the Yugoslav ambassador to Czechoslovakia.

Received by Lenart, Hanus

LD0407231488 Prague CTK in English 1035 GMT 4 Jul 88

[Text] Prague July 4 (CTK)—Presidium member and Secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Jozef Lenart and Central Committee Secretary Frantisek Hanus held talks here Monday with visiting Presidium member of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee Dusan Ckrebic. Representatives of the two fraternal parties informed each other about topical issues and exchanged experience of the two parties' activities in connection with the restructuring of the two economies. Dusan Ckrebic will continue to discuss these questions with officials of Czechoslovak central bodies and representatives of several state enterprises in West Bohemia in the next few days.

Further Report

LD0407232388 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1422 GMT 4 Jul 88

[Text] Prague, 4 Jul (TANJUG)—Dusan Ckrebic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, held talks today in Prague with Jozef Lenart, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium. He also met with Frantisek Hanus, member of the Secretariat of the CPCZ Central Committee.

Ckrebic is on a working visit to Czechoslovakia at the invitation of the CPCZ Central Committee. The visit is held within the framework of cooperation between the LCY and the CPCZ.

In today's talks most attention was devoted to the economic reforms in the two countries and the role and tasks of the LCY and the CPCZ in the field of socioeconomic development. It was stated that with the processes of change that have begun in Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia, more favorable conditions are being created for the development of bilateral relations, especially economic relations. Both sides favorably assessed cooperation between the LCY and the CPCZ and the two countries.

Ckrebic also held talks today in the Central Institute for Economic Studies attached to the State Planning Commission in Prague. Taking part in the talks was Dusan Rodic, Yugoslav ambassador in the CSSR.

Meets Jakes, Departs

LD0607221688 Prague CTK in English 1640 GMT 6 Jul 88

[Text] Prague July 6 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes received Dusan Ckrebic, Presidium member of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia today, the last day of his friendly working visit to Czechoslovakia.

In a comradely cordial discussion they exchanged information on topical issues of the two countries' socioeconomic development and on the activities of the two fraternal Communist Parties.

Both representatives spoke in favour of the development of the dialogue between the two Communist Parties and for the further extension of Czechoslovak-Yugoslav cooperation. They highly praised the results of the 19th

Soviet Communist Party Conference and agreed that it is important for the promotion of the process of restructuring and democratization in the socialist countries.

Dusan Ckrebic left for Belgrade later today.

Further Report

LD0607162788 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1301 GMT 6 Jul 88

[Text] Prague, 6 Jul (TANJUG)—Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, today in Prague received Dusan Ckrebic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium at the end of the latter's working visit to Czechoslovakia which took place at the invitation of the CPCZ Central Committee and within the framework of interparty cooperation.

In the course of cordial and friendly talks both sides highly assessed overall Yugoslav-Czechoslovak relations and cooperation between the LCY and the CPCZ. Willingness was also emphasized to promote dialogue on all significant issues concerning the theory and practice of building socialism in the two countries.

Open and meaningful talks should, it was said, contribute to the exchanges of experience in the reforms and other transformations under way in both Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia, to better mutual understanding, and to strengthening mutual trust.

On this occasion Milos Jakes spoke about the CPCZ's efforts in engaging all social forces in implementing the economic reform.

Ckrebic informed the CPCZ Central Committee general secretary about the outcome of the recently held LCY conference. Speaking about the tasks facing the LCY in carrying out reforms in the economic and political system and in renewing the LCY, Dusan Ckrebic stressed that the principal goal of these processes was to develop an economically efficient, democratic, socialist, and self-managing society.

Further Reportage on MPR's Sodnom Visit

Meets With Jakes, Strougal

OW0607115688 Ulaanbaatar International Service in English 0910 GMT 5 Jul 88

[Text] Czechoslovak party leader Milos Jakes has met in Prague with the visiting Mongolian Prime Minister Sodnom. They exchanged information on restructuring in the economic and social experiences of the two countries.

Milos Jakes and Sodnom noted the great significance of the successful realization of the (?milestone)— the Mongolian-Czechoslovak Economic and Scientific and Technical Cooperation Program up to the Year 2000 and period of expansion of progressive plans of interaction, such as cooperation, specialization, and setting up of joint enterprises. He also noted the significance of the 19th Soviet Communist Party Conference to the activity of the fraternal parties.

The visiting Mongolian Prime Minister Dumaagiyn Sodnom and his Czechoslovak counterpart Lubomir Strougal have [words indistinct] on 5 July. The premiers briefed each other on the efforts made in their respective countries on perfecting economic mechanism and democratizing social life. The sides noted that the restructuring and renewal in Mongolia and Czechoslovakia are aimed at tackling common tasks and promoting further dynamic development of bilateral relations.

The sides paid particular attention to the issues of raising the efficiency of traditional Mongolian-Czechoslovak economic, scientific, and technical cooperation, expanding the production basis, introducing advanced technology, and developing joint enterprises. The talks demonstrated the identity of positions and approaches of the two governments on broad international issues and on pursuing European and Asian security.

The head of the Mongolian Government noted the significance of Czechoslovak initiatives on setting up zones of (?peace), cooperation and good neighborliness in [words indistinct] of Warsaw Treaty and NATO countries.

Joint Release

AU0607212788 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 5 Jul 88 p 2

[CTK report: "Joint Release on Czechoslovak - Mongolian Talks"]

[Text] Prague—Dumaagiyn Sodnom, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Mongolian People's Republic [MPR], paid a friendly working visit to the CSSR from 2 - 4 July 1988, at the invitation of CSSR Premier Lubomir Strougal.

During his visit, the chairman of the Council of Ministers and his retinue received a cordial reception, which was a sign of the traditional friendly relations between the states and nations of the MPR and Czechoslovakia.

Dumaagiyn Sodnom was received by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, and by CSSR President Gustav Husak. The Mongolian guests laid a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Warrior in the National Memorial at Zizkov hill.

CSSR Premier Lubomir Strougal and Dumaagiyn Sodnom, the chairman of the MPR Council of Ministers, held talks in an atmosphere of comradely friendship and full mutual understanding, which were marked by unanimity of views on all the issues assessed.

D. Sodnom briefed the Czechoslovak comrades on the course of the realization of the conclusions of the 19th Congress of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party [MPRP] concerning the country's socioeconomic development, on the measures being adopted by the party and the government to revive the economy, to further intensify democracy and broaden the flow of information in public life.

L. Strougal briefed the guests on the realization of the strategy of accelerating the country's socioeconomic development, determined by the 17th CPCZ Congress and subsequently worked out by the seventh and ninth sessions of the CPCZ Central Committee. He further provided information on the efforts the CPCZ devotes to restructuring the national economy, to public life, and to intensifying socialist democracy.

The two representatives stressed the great importance of the ongoing process of revolutionary renewal and fundamental restructuring in the fraternal socialist countries, which make it possible to achieve new dimensions. In this connection, the two sides unanimously stressed the historical importance of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference for socialism and the world, a conference which affirmed the irreversibility of the revolutionary restructuring of Soviet society and which mapped out the path of its further development.

The two sides expressed satisfaction with the continuing development of the fraternal relations between the CSSR and the MPR, on the foundation of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism. They affirmed the determination to expand the two countries' bilateral cooperation in the economic, scientific-technical, cultural, and other spheres, in the spirit of the CSSR - MPR Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation.

In this connection, they assessed measures concerning the implementation of the agreements by the leading representatives of the two fraternal parties, which were concluded during the recent visit to the MPR by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, and which concern the further development of Czechoslovak - Mongolian economic cooperation. The two sides favored the further gradual development of mutual economic relations in trade as well as in new spheres of cooperation, and the enhancing of their effectiveness. They stressed the importance of advancement in the realization of the Long-Term Program for Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation Through the Year 2000, in harmony with the new requirements of management, economic reforms, and of accelerating the economic and social development.

The two sides favored the development of new, advanced forms of cooperation, such as joint ventures, production cooperation, and direct relations between enterprises.

In assessing topical problems of the current international situation, the two representatives unanimously noted that at present there are favorable prerequisites for improving the worldwide climate, and for a turn for the better in international relations. The new political thinking is gradually strengthening in international relations, it helps one to grasp the realities of the nuclear and space century, reveals the need to energetically combat the threat of war and fight for the nations' right to peace.

In assessing the situation in the individual regions of the world, especially in Asia and Europe, the two governments expressed their resolute support for the process of reducing tension, reducing the level of military rivalry, and for a peaceful solution of crises and conflicts.

The two representatives expressed profound satisfaction with the results of the talks, which are a contribution to the further dynamic development of the relations between the CSSR and the MPR, as well as to intensifying the two countries' cooperation on the international scene.

Dumaagiyn Sodnom invited Lubomir Strougal to pay an official visit to the MPR. The invitation was accepted with pleasure.

Khamene'i Receives Envoy for Farewell Visit

LD0507230788 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1835 GMT 5 Jul 88

[Text] Tehran, 5 Jul (ADN)—The President of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Hojjat ol-Eslam Val Moslemin Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i, received the GDR ambassador in Iran, Guenther Fritsch, today in Tehran for a farewell visit. He thanked him for the telegram of sympathy sent to him by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, in which the dismay and consternation at the shooting down of an Iranian passenger aircraft by the U.S. Navy was expressed on behalf of the Council of State and the people of the GDR.

President Khamene'i called for a further deepening of the bilateral relations between the two states and requested the conveyance of cordial greetings to Erich Honecker.

Schuerer, SRV Official Discuss Cooperation

AU0707084588 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 5 Jul 88 p 2

[Excerpt] East Berlin (ADN)—Gerhard Schuerer, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, candidate member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, and chairman of the State Planning Commission, received Le Danh, deputy chairman of the State Planning Commission of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, in Berlin on Monday [4 July].

The talk focused on the implementation of the stipulations concerning cooperation in the economic sphere, and in science and technology during the current 5-year plan. Both sides concurred that—on the basis of the agreements reached between the highest representatives of the GDR and Socialist Republic of Vietnam—economic relations are developing in a stable and dynamic manner. In this context they stressed the significance of the Long-Term Program for Economic and Scientific-Technological Cooperation Through the Year 2000 between the two countries, on the basis of which mutually beneficial activities in the most varied spheres will be expanded. [passage omitted]

Cambodia Pullout Welcomed

BK0507090988 Hanoi VNA in English 0715 GMT 5 Jul 88

[Text] Hanoi VNA July 5—Gerhard Schuerer, candidate Politburo member of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED) Central Commitee, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Planning Commission, received in Berlin yesterday Le Danh, vice-chairman of the Vietnam State Commission for Science and Technology, on his visit to the GDR to discuss the coordination of planning between the two countries.

At the reception, G. Schuerer expressed his satisfaction at the economic cooperation between the two countries and said he hoped that this cooperation would be further developed.

He expressed support for Vietnam's efforts toward making Southeast Asia a zone of peace, stability and cooperation.

He hailed the withdrawal of 50,000 Vietnamese volunteer troops from Kampuchea this year as an important contribution to the trend of political dialogue, and to the consolidation of peace in the region and the world as a whole.

Le Danh was also received by Horst Soelle, member of the SED Central Committee and deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers.

Communication Minister Receives Cuban Counterpart

AU0707080588 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 5 Jul 88 p 2

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—Rudolph Schulze, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers and minister of posts and telecommunications, received Manuel Castillo Rabassa, minister of posts and telecommunications of the Republic of Cuba, for a friendly talk in Berlin on Monday [4 July]. During the meeting both sides reaffirmed their desire to further expand cooperation in the field of posts and telecommunications.

On the same day the Cuban visitor met with Felix Meier, minister of electrical engineering and electronics. The talk focused on the further development of scientific-technological cooperation and the start of cooperation in the sphere of communications technology. For more than a decade Cuba has procured switching systems and equipment for telephone communication from the GDR's electrical industry. Minister Rabassa paid tribute to the GDR's assistance in establishing a telephone and telex network in Cuba as an important element in the cooperation between the two countries.

NVA Has Met 'All Obligations' of CSCE Pact

LD0607110788 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0721 GMT 6 Jul 88

[Text] Berlin, 6 Jul (ADN)—The GDR and the National People's Army (NVA) have fulfilled all obligations contained in the document of the Stockholm conference on confidence-building and security measures, says Colonel General Fritz Streletz, deputy defense minister and chief of the Main Staff of the NVA, in a press article. Thus, in close collaboration with the fraternal states and armies, it has made an important contribution to security on the continent. "The proper application of the stipulations met with unqualified recognition and in this way helped to increase the international authority of the socialist German state."

Up to the present time, for example, the GDR has announced six exercises of the NVA and the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany on its territory with more than 13,000 participants and has invited exercise observers to four of them, involving over 17,000 men. In addition, it has complied with the request by the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland in September 1987 and of the United States in April 1988 to carry out an insepction on its territory, and it has made provisions for this.

Moreover, the GDR has so far sent to 21 exercises—including 10 NATO and 1 of a neutral state—2 officers as observers, and in November 1987 carried out an inspection on the territory of the FRG.

"With the prospects for further disarmament measures new and further-reaching confidence-building steps in the military-political area become increasingly indispensable," stressed Col Gen Streletz stressed. It was in this spirit that the efforts of the socialist military coalition to hold consultations on the military doctrines and concepts of both sides and for the exchange of relevant details for the comparison of data on armed forces and arms should be seen. This continues to include the efforts of the socialist states to arrive at confidence-building measures on the activity of air and naval forces and a limitation on all kinds of military activities (maneuvers).

He stressed that further concrete efforts for confidence-building between East and West have increasing importance. They form a component of the security policy of the Warsaw Pact states. On the basis of the defensive nature of the joint military doctrine, the GDR, together with its alliance partners, supports the achieving of further disarmament measures in an integrated context.

Briefs

Ethiopia Thanks GDR Physicians

Addis Ababa (ADN)—During a ceremony in Addis Ababa on 1 July, Ethiopian Health Minister Gizaw Teshay expressed his thanks to the GDR specialists working in the Metema medical center for their 10 months of devoted work, and officially bade them farewell. With their committment and their strong sense of responsibility, the 56 doctors, nurses, and technicians have proven their solidarity with the Ethiopian revolution, the minister said. The Metema medical center was financed by donations from the GDR population. [Summary] [*AU0607120488 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 2-3 Jul 88 p 7*]

Premier Karoly Grosz To Visit U.S. 19 July
LD0607195588 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 6 Jul 88

[Text] [Presenter] First a brief but important Washington dispatch about an official announcement made there. Csaba Kis reports:

[Kis] It was officially announced in Washington that, starting on 19 July, Premier Karoly Grosz will visit the United States.

Phyllis Oakley, State Department spokeswoman, said that while the program has not taken final shape, the Hungarian premier, in the course of his trip which is due to last almost 2 weeks, will visit several cities.

In Washington he will meet President Reagan, several members of the U.S. Government, Congressional leaders, as well as several leading personalities of business and public life.

Independence Day Greetings Sent to U.S.
LD0407230888 Budapest MTI in English 1630 GMT 7 Jul 88

[Text] Budapest, July 4 (MTI)—Bruno F. Straub, president of the Presidential Council greeted in a telegram President Ronald Reagan of the United States on the occasion of Independence Day.

Premier Grosz Meets Rabbi From New York
LD3006213188 Budapest MTI in English 1745 GMT 30 Jun 88

[Text] Budapest, June 30 (MTI)—Karoly Grosz, chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, met Arthur Schneier, chief rabbi of New York, at the prime ministerial office in Budapest on Thursday. The meeting was attended by Barna Sarkadi Nagy, deputy chairman of the State Office for Church Affairs.

Marjai Comments on Recent Agreement With EEC
AU0607154488 Budapest MTI in English 0644 GMT 5 Jul 88

[Text] Budapest, MTI, 05/07/1988—Jozsef Marjai, Hungarian deputy prime minister, gave an interview on the occasion that Hungary and the EEC signed an agreement on cooperation last week. The interview is carried by the Tuesday issue of MAGYAR HIRLAP.

Does the agreement mean that the relations between Hungary and the Community have been normalized?

"To answer the question I must tell you why our relations could not be considered normalized so far. It was raised that the Community was maintaining diplomatic relations with over a hundred countries, excluding Hungary and the other socialist states. We did not consider the relations normalized as the Community did not treat Hungary as a participant with equal rights in international division of labour. Under the pretext that trade is a state monopoly in Hungary, they refused to meet their obligations stemming from Hungary's admission to GATT in 1973. We have announced our intention of establishing diplomatic relations and the Community undertook in the agreement to meet its obligations stemming from GATT membership. Nevertheless, our relations are normalized insofar as the EEC undertook to eliminate discrimination within a definite time. But this normalization is not yet complete as the process will last until 1992 and 1995."

Why didn't the EEC meet this obligation now?

"To reach an agreement, our partners have to gradually get rid of the decades-old concept that a socialist country cannot be a participant in international trade for whom the generally accepted rules apply. They said that we should be exposed to a special treatment, which is more unfavorable and more restrictive than usual.

"To get rid of this concept requires some time. We were prepared to accept the compromise of a longer transition period for sake of an agreement. Now the experts are holding talks on which restrictions will remain in force between 1992 and 1995. We are to accept a few restrictions while the Community endeavors for unacceptably more. The development of relations is only conceivable if Hungary is really accepted as a partner of equal rights and the agreements concluded with us are taken as earnestly as the ones signed between the Western countries.

"I think Hungary's industrial exports to the Community are to increase by an annual $25 million, while others expect a larger growth. It depends finally on the competitiveness of the Hungarian industry, the agreement creates a framework only. As far as the agrarian goods are concerned, we did not make a concrete advance. The EEC, burdened by its artificially accumulated, oversubsidized agricultural stocks, was not in a position to offer benefits for us. To accept this was another compromise."

What hopes are you pinning on genuine cooperation?

The scope of authority concerning industrial cooperation is divided between the Community and its member states. We have concluded long-term interstate agreements with some member countries. The agreement signed now may have a favorable impact on enterprise attitudes and the readiness of West European firms to cooperate with us. But it is only a framework which has to be filled by the enterprises and entrepreneurs.

The majority of our rivals pay lower tariffs, if at all, in the EEC countries? Will this situation change now?

Unfortunately, not. However, we will continue to take a stand for reducing discriminative tariffs in both bilateral talks and the GATT forums. Our persistent attitude may perhaps bring us success. Austria, for instance, granted us preferential tariffs after talks lasting for more than ten years. It is worth talking consistently, sticking to our principles as it may be rewarded in a favorable period of time.

Debate at CPSU Conference Creates 'Sensation'

AU0607161788 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 4 Jul 88 p 3

[Article by Peter Sereny: "The Second Revolution"]

[Text] What a sensation the debate at the CPSU Conference has created!

Indeed, when has it ever happened that a delegate stood up and declared that he did not agree with the proposal of the general secretary; or that he could demand the departure of leading officials, complete with name and function; or an ousted and criticized politician and the former first secretary of the country's biggest party organization received the floor?

These questions are only partially rhetorical. There were such examples 50-60 years ago. Stalin's terror destroyed the emminent Communist leaders who argued then, and those people have just been rehabilitated recently, from Bukharin to Zinovyev.

As early as 4 or 5 years ago, one could still not imagine such an open and free stand characteristic of the recent Soviet national party conference.

Therefore, there are good reasons for the sensation the conference created for millions of people from Budapest to Tokyo, and from London to Washington.

Moral Courage [subhead]

Sensation in this case expresses the essential. In its focus, one can see with unparalleled clarity the great steps forward made by the Soviet Union on the road of democratic development during these 3 and ½ years since the great change, by gradually shaking itself free of the burdens of the past.

The aforementioned questions also showed the extent of intellectual and civil courage needed by the Gorbachev leadership to open this new phase. And looking back now, one can also see what a clear concept and firm consistency they needed, too.

The great change started with a change in the pace, with "acceleration." In due course, this has been transformed into "perestroyka," into a program of breaking with the old habits and of renewal. By discarding the dogmatic practice of the thirties and forties, this change became first a program of radical economic reforms, and now a phase of developing a similarly radical political reform.

The new concept of restructuring recognizes that one can no longer even "accelerate" in the old ways, and that comprehensive reforms are needed for the development of the Soviet Union, a development worthy of itself and of socialism. The preceeding events, the hardened heritage, and the pains of breaking with the old—pains that also affect nerves—all these make this reform equal to a revolution, and not only in its achievements.

The sensational debate at the party conference also showed that, at present, one can follow the extent of changes most directly in the people's awareness. Although the famous "conservative manifesto"—the case of the so-called Andreyeva-letter—showed the deep old reflexes of fear that paralyze spontaneous answers, reflexes still prevailing among the followers of restructuring, the elimination of taboos led overnight to a sparkling acceleration of the cultural and scientific life which, until now, have been subdued. One can see everywhere the positive effects all this has on the mood of the intelligentsia.

Obviously, there can be no sudden development in the economy, although, understandably, the man in the street expects a tangible result of the reforms as soon as possible, particularly in the supply of goods. However, while the new regulations require him to produce much more, it will take many years until the cracked ship of the Soviet economy changes course and gets into the main stream. That is why, summing up the criticism delivered at the party conference, Gorbachev pointed out in his concluding speech that they should not tolerate reverse steam and should firmly demolish all the artificial obstacles hindering the reform.

On Two Pillars [subhead]

The economy is one of the pillars of restructuring. Political reform is the other pillar. The two are inseparable. Rigid elements of the old political structure can break the economic reform, while doing away with these elements, the revival of democratic norms, the open acceptance of different opinions, and the development of a desire for initiatives can accelerate the development of a new economic attitude. The party conference clearly formulated this connection.

The sensational debate was also essential in that from the very beginning, the Gorbachev leadership regarded openness and democratization as the guarantee for continuing the restructuring process. Now, summing up the first years of restructuring, the party conference decided to take the decisive step of blocking any attempts of "restoring the old system" by carrying out a comprehensive reform of the political institutions. This is the

decision which was detailed in several resolutions and by which the party conference fulfilled its main task of making the restructuring process an irreversible one.

Reevaluating the party's leading role, separating between the party and state functions, introducing secret elections based on multiple nominations, limiting the terms of office in case of reelection, streamlining the bodies that represent interests, developing a real parliamentary life, administration of justice and lawfulness, and systematizing the new guarantees of human and civil rights, all these are part of this political reform package which is so familiar to us and therefore, twice as attractive.

All these are part of a political reform package that outline a self-managing socialist constitutional state. Let us read again Mikhail Gorbachev's words: "Socialist pluralism of opinions is the way leading to an optimal solution." "In our historically developed one-party system, we need a mechanism that constantly makes the opinions confront each other and provides channels for criticism and self-criticism in the party and in society. A steady and constructive political dialogue should become an organic part of our life." "We need an organization of power and management where the people have the decisive word and where society's self-regulation and self-management are implemented to the fullest possible extent."

The party conference debate last week showed that this is far from being a mere abstract possibility. To quote Gorbachev: "A democratic and humane socialism with a human face is no mirage."

Socialism With a New Face [subhead]

True, every society, and socialism too, has as many faces as countries. But everyone has an image of the real thing. Tough words were directed at the CPSU party conference at practices that were alien to the concept of true socialism. The free, moral, and dynamic society the Soviet Communists have now opted for will, at the same time, rehabilitate the insulted socialism. We have no illusions and we know that this will be a long road. But we also know that all the progress made by the Soviet Union in the last 3 and ½ years has contributed to a tremendous change in the world's image of socialism. In addition to the openness in foreign policy and the results of the new mentality acknowledged all over the world, domestic policy concepts and practice carried the lion's share in this.

Today, the Soviet Union has a good image in the Western press; various government officials also expressed their views about the party conference, and praised not only the intentions but also the actual achievements of Gorbachev's policy. Although there are places in the East where genuine information is not provided for the people, in places like Hungary where similar reform efforts are on the agenda, the men on the street and the political leadership keep their fingers crossed for the Gorbachev leadership as if they were the home team, considering, of course, the experiences that can be used in Hungary, even if our conditions are different.

The CPSU conference was a workshop not only in the sense that, for the first time, committees were involved in the preparation of decisions, but also in the sense that, during the debates, it presented one of the possible images of future socialism. As Gorbachev put it, the world communist movement, in which the CPSU plays an organic part, is today in a difficult phase of searching for a way of how to advance to a new phase in its historic development. Gorbachev added that they would also actively participate in this search on the basis of full equality and respect. The workshop activity of the party conference is also in harmony with this search.

"A Debating Second Russian Revolution"—headlined THE WASHINGTON POST in its dispatch from Moscow, commenting on the events and the unusual freshness of confronting opinions. For us, however, it sounds as if this formulation wanted to direct attention to deeper strata of these events: After decades of detours, the Soviet Union is now returning with its reforms to the ideals of the great revolution of 1917.

Soviet Weekly Reviews Hungarian-Romanian Relations
LD0607141188 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 6 Jul 88

[Text] For the first time a Soviet paper has given information, through Hungarian and Romanian statements, about the development of relations. Jozsef Havel reports:

[Havel] "Romania-Hungary, What Is Happening?" The latest edition of the weekly MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI gives a press review under this headline. It is, by the way, the first time that a Soviet paper has given comprehensive information about the development of Hungarian-Romanian relations.

Before the weekly goes on to introduce the Hungarian and Romanian statements, it writes the following by way of introduction: Relations between Hungary and Romania have become the burning issue of the mass media worldwide. The number of Hungarian-inhabited villages in Romania, which they intend to wipe off the face of the earth so that the land can be used for other constructions, runs to four figures.

Statements appear about the fact that thousands of anxious Hungarians are protesting on the squares and streets of Budapest and other Hungarian cities.

Following this, the MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI publishes for its readers the official Romanian and Hungarian news agency briefings, on the basis of which a more precise picture can be formulated.

The Soviet weekly, citing MTI, gives an account of the exchange of letters between the RCP and the MSZMP. It attaches the sole observation to this that both sides express their readiness to talk, but so far talks have not happened on any level.

Following this, citing MTI and NEPSZABADSAG, the weekly describes the June 27 demonstration in Budapest. It goes on, citing TASS reports, to provide information about the anti-intervention reaction of Hungarian workers in Romania. Then, the weekly gives excerpts from the interview given by Karoly Grosz in which he evaluates the problem of Hungarians in Transylvania as serious. It goes on to report the speech by Ceausescu, given at the RCP Central Committee plenum, citing AGERPRES.

Finally, the Soviet weekly gives information about the resolution of the Hungarian National Assembly which hopes to change the steps planned by Romania, and about the opinion of Karoly Grosz on this resolution.

PPR's Dlugosz on Polish, Hungarian Reforms

AU0607072188 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 25 Jun 88 p 2

[Interview with Stanislaw Dlugosz, under secretary of state of the PPR Planning Commission, by Jozsef K. Nyiro: "Our Reform Endeavors Are Similar—Interview with Stanislaw Dlogosz"—date and place not given]

[Text] "We do not like to evaluate events which occur in the fraternal countries and, similarly, we do not like to be evaluated. However, we can clearly state that the Polish and Hungarian reform endeavors are similar," said Stanislaw Dlugosz. To continue with similarities, our positions on development within CEMA are also similar.

[Dlugosz] Indeed, the changes currently under way in the socialist countries are both radical and less thorough, and this brings to the fore the issue of developing cooperation among all of us and in our common organization, CEMA. The Polish and Hungarian positions on quite a few issues are close. Here we are primarily talking about establishing the economic conditions of socialist integration. We think that the economic philosophy from which each and every country independently approaches this issue is important for the establishment of an integrated socialist market. From this point of view, the processes under way in Poland and Hungary are nothing other than intensifying the introduction of market mechanisms, while maintaining the strategic role of central planning. Although the changes under way in individual countries have not yet brought about a breakthrough in CEMA, a few thoughts are already gaining ground.

[Nyiro] What transpires from all this is that, in addition to economic cooperation, our two countries are also natural partners from the point of view of domestic and foreign economic policy.

[Dlugosz] This is it. I think that whatever the MSZMP conference confirmed is basically in agreement with the goals we in Poland would like to accomplish by developing the reform. Let me stress here one single important issue, the of increasing the role of money. Although the forint is a stronger currency than our zloty, it is more important that we not only try to use our national currency as a statistical index, but also to give it a role such as will enable us to direct the economic processes.

At this point I would like to return to the issue of a breakthrough in CEMA. We think that the real change will occur when the ruble and the other socialist currencies have become fully convertible. Bilateral agreements are already in existence; the task now is to implement the idea of multilateral accounting in economic practices. Even the fact that we are dealing with this issue more and more seriously can accelerate our progress toward facilitating multilateral accounting.

Finally, let me stress one more point. The fact that changes similar to our reform endeavors are also under way in the Soviet Union is, in my opinion, very important. And this makes the situation basically easier, if only for the fact that nobody there will consider our changes to be revisionist changes.

[Nyiro] Returning to cooperation between our countries, do you think that the present economic incentives are enough to broaden this cooperation?

[Dlugosz] Not at all. I am convinced that we still have considerable reserves inherent in the establishment of joint enterprises and in cooperation. However, it is true that, in order to make use of these reserves, we need more incentives than hitherto—if only for the fact that a Polish ministry can at present hardly order a Polish enterprise to establish a joint venture with the Hungarians. The most important task in this area, too, is to work out and implement economic means, primarily in the area of pricing and monetary policy. There will be no progress if we make no progress in these areas, and if we cannot solve these issues. Therefore, we are confident that direct accounting between enterprises will soon be established, because this can substantially accelerate our cooperation. In short, a lot is still under way and developing, but one thing is certain: If we want to maintain the present dynamics of the expansion of our cooperation, we will have to get rid of the old way of thinking. On the basis of my experience, we and our Hungarian partners both agree on this principle.

Interest in CEMA Possibilities Discussed

AU0607170888 Budapest MTI in English 0833 GMT 5 Jul 88

[Text] Budapest, MTI, 05/07/1988—Tuesday's MAGYAR HIRLAP carries an editorial on the CEMA session to start in Prague today. The article stresses:

"It remains our essential economic interest to exploit the possibilities offered by CEMA cooperation. We should and can guarantee the importation of indispensable goods from the socialist countries through more efficient market research and direct cooperation between enterprises. We must not forget that the CEMA countries have a share of 50 to 70 per cent in Hungary's foreign trade and their importance in Hungary's economic development exceeds the numerical proportions.

"Our transferable rouble surplus could be reduced either by decreasing socialist exports or increasing imports. It is obvious that genuine solution could only be offered by the latter. If Hungary decreased its deliveries, it would voluntarily exclude itself from a huge market like the Soviet one and put its enterprises at an even worse situation. It is true, however, that not only we are struggling with balance problems but also our partners. In addition, their goods offered for sale only partly comply with our requirements. So the expansion of import is not only a matter of intention but influenced by objective conditions as well.

"It has become obvious that the advanced organizational frames alone are insufficient for solving our tasks. It is indispensable to modernize the financial and monetary means and the ways of accounting.

" 'Convertible trade among the socialist countries has great perspectives but we still have much to do until that,' said recently Josef Lenart, the Central Committee secretary in charge of economic affairs of Czechoslovakia. Material incentives and responsibility for the fulfilment of contracts—these could be the key words of the 44th CEMA session to start today."

Soviet Cosmonaut on Joint Space Flight

LD0607090288 Budapest MTI in English 0802 GMT 6 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow, July 6 (MTI)—'There is a possibility for another Soviet-Hungarian space flight,' said Soviet Cosmonaut Valery Kubasov, who participated in the first common space flight.

Valery Kubasov told a TASS correspondent that Hungarian researchers have accumulated sufficient experience in technical sciences and biotechnology for organizing a second, longer and more complex common flight.

During the previous flight, Kubasov said, several research projects were carried out that served the Hungarian economy. Hungarian scientists have made great accomplishments in space research and got involved in the Intercosmos programme and the Phobos programme, monitoring the moons of the Mars and the cosmic space.

Journalist Visits PRC Space Center

AU0607154888 Budapest MTI in English 2005 GMT 5 Jul 88

[Text] Budapest, MTI, 05/07/1988—In June the delegation of the National Association of Hungarian Journalists visited Sichuan and had the opportunity offered by Chinese hosts to see the Hsin-hsiang Space Center as the first visitors of foreign journalists. At the satellite launch center commander Kuo Jin-chun [name as received] told the Hungarian journalists that the center was designed to be the launch site of the Chinese communication satellites and if there is interest abroad space installations will be launched from there.

The planning was started in 1970, construction in 1975 and the first test rocket launched in 1983. The center is a kind of international 'show-stage' of Chinese space technology. This would also mean that it could be made use of economically and Chinese leaders have founded a separate company called 'Great Wall' to make the space technology commercially available. So far, in addition to the test rocket, only three satellites were launched from this site on a geostationary orbit, all the three with the Long March 3 (LM 3) type, liquid fueled, three stage and 43 meters high rocket.

Since the first success of the Chinese space technology in April 1970, a total of 22 satellites have been launched. The pace of progress is cautious and the use of the launch stations was limited. The domestic economy would be better served by the space industry, which was established at great financial input, had it been used as a source of hard currency revenues. The launch of the LM rockets proved to be a 100 per cent success. The traffic to the space center is available by air, as the airfield is suitable for the landing of Boeing jumbos, and railroad and public road access is also possible. The dry season from October until April is favourable for operations and at least four launches could be made in one season. There are rockets available—the development of Long March 4 was recently announced. As type 3 was able to carry 1.4 tonnes of payload, the type 4 has a capacity for 2.5 tonnes and as Hungarian journalists were told development work is under way to manufacture a rocket with 4 tonnes of payload. The Long March rockets are offered well below world market prices by the Great Wall Corporation for launching satellites. The invitation of foreign journalists indicates that the Chinese leadership wants to increase confidence by opening up the previously secret center where 1,000 experts are waiting for the second commercial order.

More Associations Protest Against Romanian Plans

Various Organizations

AU0607121988 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 23 Jun 88 p 9

[MTI report: "The Romanian Plans for 'Territorial Reorganization' Contradict Helsinki Spirit—Protests Against Limiting National Minority Rights"]

[Excerpts] The MTI has received further positions and statements of different organizations protesting against the measures which endanger the Hungarian and other

national minority communities living in Romania. [passage omitted]

The Hungarian National CSCE Committee has sent a letter to the CSCE International Committee in Brussels in which it judged the developments in Romania as contradicting both the spread of good relations between states and people, and the content and spirit of the Helsinki Final Act. The Hungarian Historic Society, the Hungarian Ethnographic Society, the Hungarian Linguistics Society, and the International Hungarian Philological Society, which are the organizers of a scientific conference entitled "St. Stephen and His Period" currently being held in Budapest, and the participants in the conference have also published a statement of protest.

The general assembly of the Federation of Associations for the Protection and Beautification of City and County has protested against the Romanian plan for territorial reorganization and authorized the federation leadership to also make use of its international relations to ensure wide publicity for the opinion of the assembly that the planned annihilation cannot be favorable to any nation, including the Romanian people.

Hungarian Architects

AU1406072388 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 9 Jun 88 p 4

[Interview with Istvan Kruppa, secretary of the Association of Hungarian Architects, by Kurcz: "Hungarian Architects Protest Romanian Plans To Reorganize Settlements—A Tree Cannot Just Be Replanted Here and There"—date and place not given]

[Text] The Presidium of the Association of Hungarian Architects decided to protest the implementation of "the plan to forcibly destroy small villages of national minorities in Romania." Their protest letter points out that this action "would destroy the historic identity and awareness of the Hungarian, German, and other national minorities living on what is Romanian territory today." The letter also stresses that "nothing can replace the quality of an established environment, a value which all mankind has in common."

The association's presidium has called upon the architects of the world to "raise their voice against settlement policy decisions aimed at eliminating the cultural heritage of the national minorities living in Romania."

The presidium sent the letter and the appeal to architects' associations in more than 70 countries, to several international organizations, and to several Hungarian and foreign public figures, and to newspaper organs.

[Kurcz] Why have you decided to take this unusual step, to use this form of protest?

[Kruppa] Our profession is one of man's more humane activities: For thousands of years, our task has been to build and decorate the human environment. At the same time, there have been numerous examples in history of making use of this profession to implement political goals. Now, hearing these alarming rumors, we think that something is being hidden behind the cloak of our profession, an action that aims at erasing, without any trace, irreplaceable building environments from Europe's cultural heritage. In order to preserve these values, we thought of drawing the attention of all the architects and professional associations in the world, and of all people who are willing to act, to defend the national minorities living in Transylvania (Hungarians, Saxons, Swabians, Russians, and Ukrainians). Of course, we are also concerned about the revered Romanian cultural heritage.

[Kurcz] We are talking here not only about the fact that thousands of people will lose their houses and their homes overnight and that the (homeland) ground is slipping from under their feet, but also about the fact that irreplaceable architectural values will disappear without trace!

[Kruppa] We have no news whatsoever about the program because the authorities refuse to supply any information. However, according to our information, they want to practically erase the majority of the villages in the area of Transylvania and of the Saxons. [sentence as published] They will destroy beautiful buildings from the Gothic and Reformation periods as well as architectural memorials and objects which are extremely valuable for all the national minorities living in this area.

[Kurcz] Have you succeeded in contacting the Romanian Architects Association?

[Kruppa] Our Romanian colleagues completely refused to have any contact with us. In fact, I can understand this....

[Kurcz] Does this not go against the ethics of an architect when, either in his imagination or at the drafting board, one carries out such a task by using a pencil and ruler? Even the destruction of settlements must be planned!

[Kruppa] All this is catastrophic and terrible for our profession. By making political use of it, the architect's humane motives and mission become a destructive force rather than a creative one.

[Kurcz] Does the UNESCO Europa Nostra program which is aimed at preserving the European heritage, not defend these areas too?

[Kruppa] Europa Nostra is defending, in fact, everything that represents a cultural heritage on our continent; this is its task and why it was established in the first place. Of

course, we can and must try to win this organization over—as well as any other organization that can help—to the side of Transylvanian villages.

[Kurcz] Does this area not belong to the world's architectural heritage?

[Kruppa] It is interesting that outstanding rescue missions are rewarded with various prizes. Thus, when Buda Castle and the Village Picture of Holloko become part of the world heritage, one believes that this will protect these values. Based on their own power, these organizations can be good examples. Now, entire parts of a country are in danger: They want to destroy countless villages only because 2-3 hectares of arable land would thus become available for agriculture.

[Kurcz] If we saw this area from above, from an airplane, what would the settlement structure of these condemned villages look like?

[Kruppa] In these beautiful one- or two-street villages, with their perfectly-selected high points, the typical Transylvanian church towers fit into the surrounding environment and the terrain with fantastic sensitivity. This is characteristic of the Saxon church-fortresses whose locations were more carefully chosen because they also served defense purposes, in addition to providing a site for the village church.

No matter how contradictory it might seem, we envy the talents of our architect friends from Transylvania, because mountain-area people build their houses differently from their lowland counterparts: They must consider three-dimensional factors rather than two-dimensional ones. This is an absolute requirement in a Transylvanian village because, if one does not choose the proper site for his house, if he does not dig the trench properly and if he does not build the small bridge leading to the house properly, the whole construction will be flooded following the first thaw. Therefore, we can find here a series of buildings and village structures that reflect the best examples of refined national building traditions. Due to territorial isolation and historical factors, cultural values have been much better preserved here than, for example, within the boundaries of our country. It is no accident that both Bela Bartok and Zoltan Kodaly roamed these areas while they were gathering folklore material; it is no accident that the villages of the Kaszon area are very unique and no similar types of villages can be found anywhere in the world; and it is no accident that national dress and folklore have remained intact in Kalotaszeg.... Very few places in Europe have this type of heritage to show today. This area shows the best way, at the end of the 20th century, of how to rethink the shaping of our environment by learning from folklore.

[Kurcz] Will Karoly Kos' creations also be threatened with destruction?

[Kruppa] We do not know. However, I fear that they might be, because, in addition to the the destruction of small villages, the "community settlement" plan also intends to carry out development projects in the centers of major towns, a project whose only goal is to destroy the traditional environments of these city centers. As to whether this plan will also affect the Kos houses, or other architectural values of famous Romanian, Saxon, and Hungarian architects less known in Hungary, we do not know. Unfortunately, we can also "boast" about gross mistakes, and this is precisely why we feel that it is our obligation to speak up. Fortunately, the forced city reconstruction projects in Hungary were not of such a large extent; nevertheless, they led to strong opposition from our public opinion. Attempts to eliminate the Hungarian world of detached farms failed because one cannot alter living styles by such drastic measures. Why can this happen then in an area 100 km away? Such attempts at settlement accumulation have failed everywhere in the world. Some time ago, Soviet architects also attempted to create a standard kolkhoz village. They tried to gather the population of the given agricultural area with great sensitivity, but, as it turned out, people living a peasant form of life cannot exist without their household plot, the small garden, and small-scale animal husbandry. It is inconceivable that a peasant use an elevator to go up to his cubicle on the seventh floor to sleep and come down in the morning to plow the field. He is much more connected to the land....

[Kurcz] What do architects hope to gain from this appeal?

[Kruppa] What we are talking about here is not the fate of a single person but the fate of tens and hundreds of thousands of people. Trees cannot be planted and replanted first here and there, which is very true of people too. I hope that all the organizations we have called upon, and all the personalities, including Mikhail Gorbachev, President Reagan, and the pope, will raise their voice against this plan and the Romanian leadership will consider this massive opposition and will stop the bulldozers.

MSZMP's Jasso Approves of Dual Nomination

AU0707083888 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 28 Jun 88 p 3

[Interview with Mihaly Jasso, first secretary of the MSZMP Budapest Committee, held at the conclusion of an extended session of the MSZMP Budapest Committee on 27 June, by Laszlo Hovanyec: "Mihaly Jasso: Dual Nomination Is a Gain,"—place not given]

[Text] [Hovanyec] For the first time in the history of the MSZMP Budapest committee, the first secretary has been elected from among several nominees. Therefore, the obvious question is: Is an elected secretary in a better situation? Does he feel more secure?

[Jasso] Indeed, we are still geting used to this new method, which I pointed out at the party committee session after my election. This is true both of the people who do the nominating and of the nominees. I do not deny that the dual nomination—and people have convinced me of the need for it, and I accept it—aroused human tensions in me. I am not saying that I have accepted this today, when we know the results; I also said earlier that we can only make progress on the basis of openness, attention to opinions, collective wisdom, and collective decisionmaking.

Why did all this make me tense? Because this is a natural reaction to such situations, because of its novelty, because we are used to a different practice. With us, if one were not elected at some election, he somehow lost some of his worth or at least this has been the case so far. Comrade Ivanyi, with whom I have had friendly relations for long years, and I have been able to overcome this tension and, through the various people's arguments have understood the fact that we both were nominated for this post is a gain for politics as well as for us. I must say that since I was elected this way, I do feel more secure. At the same time I also have to say that I feel that my responsibility is greater. Let me elaborate.

Due to the size of the municipal party movement, its political commitments, and tasks, the duties of the Budapest party committee are quite extensive. Almost one quarter of the nation's party members participate in this movement. Therefore, the questions I have asked myself are the following: How can I contribute to the cause of this movement? How can I carry out the task I have been entrusted with? How will I be able to solve the inevitable human and political tensions? Because one accepts a post with the intention of meeting its requirements, as I did. I am relying on the hope that the MSZMP Budapest committee and the MSZMP district committees will help me in this.

[Hovanyec] Did the fact that your partner in these elections has been an MSZMP Politburo member cause any concern for you in this situation?

[Jasso] This did not worry me because, as I have already said, he is not only a member of the Politburo but also a friend. As a political official, however, I did have concerns, because any time there are two nominations, there are two possible outcomes. And undeniably I have been conditioned to believe that if a Politburo member is not elected over a Central Committee member, it is a political defeat. However, I repeat that my comrades and friends have convinced me that this view is wrong and that in the long term, politics can only gain by this.

Nyers Interviewed on Exports, Inflation

LD0407133488 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1700 GMT 3 Jul 88

[From the "The Week" program; interview with Rezso Nyers, member of the MSZMP Central Committee Politburo, by correspondent Jozsef Hidvegi; time and place not given; recorded]

[Text] [Hidvegi] Due to the brevity of time, permit us to seize upon two subjects. On the one hand, let us talk about inflation, on the other hand, about the export possibilities of the Hungarian economy. The government predicted, or promised, that inflation this year will not be above 15 percent, but we already know that this at present stands at around 18-20 percent. In this case, what can the financial leadership do, or more precisely, what may it do?

[Nyers] In the trade committee, we came to the conclusion that the increase in the consumer price level would settle at around 16 percent for the year, for the whole of the year. The most effective government remedy against this is not to create an abundance of money in the economy, but to restrict money, which is a bearable but substantive measure.

The direction thaat the effect of this restriction of money takes is such that even if market relations remain imperfect, the budget economies cannot be asserted en masse in prices. [as heard]

[Hidvegi] In your contribution, you urged the government not to deviate from its intention to withdraw the subsidies from loss-making enterprises.

[Nyers] The reduction in subsidies does not have a direct unfavorable, nor durable effect on the living circumstances of families. In the long term it will improve the living standards of families. It will, however, cause a temporary difficulty in the economy, a particular sort of financial crisis situation. We must go through this, so that the situation will not become depressed and difficult in the long term.

[Hidvegi] Let us turn to the second subject. In what way can we improve our exports, our export balance?

[Nyers] In 3 or 4 years' time, the working import capital can offer substantive help. The most significant is to solicit capital for social forms of production which are a natural repository for such capital—this is the (?Hungarian) joint stock company.

[Hidvegi] You also mentioned that the loans obtained earlier should also be mobilized in the same way. It is common knowledge that in many cases we used our loans to support losses. Is there a possibility to really redirect these to this area?

[Nyers] This is a new kind of solution which is used in a few very flexible and quick-reacting countries, and of course countries which have a favorable economic future. They turn their existing loans into working capital. This means that our enterprises which export, which export to the West, should get involved in capital participation—those companies which up to now, indirectly, through the banking system, have participated in the financing of the Hungarian economy as financial credit. [as heard]

This form of financing, according to our text books is not favorable and to be avoided, but in my opinion, we have to rewrite our text books, for in reality, this is more favorable than financial credit.

[Hidvegi] If I understand your remarks correctly, then what we are talking about is selling off, along with our enterprises, the losses of the enterprises too, as long as there are buyers.

[Nyers] We cannot sell off the losses of enterprises. No working capital source would get involved in this. This turns only the financial credit taken on for past losses into working capital, with the requirement that these will be undertakings which work well and bring in hard currency profits. So, we can only share the profits with the foreign capital; we cannot share the losses.

[Hidvegi] Permit me one last observation, or more precisely a question. In the assembly many proposals have been made about how the Hungarian economy should or can be led out of the current situation. And now we are facing another plan or conception.

[Nyers] We are traveling on the road of reforms with a foreign political tailwind. I see that there is a different political situation today from that of 1968. There is a different situation to that of the eighties, in 1980, when we again embarked on very cautious, restricted reforms. But they were too cautious, too small. The steps were not big enough to give them momentum on their own. Now, however, they can proceed under their own steam.

More on PPF National Presidium Session

AU0707084088 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 28 Jun 88 p 3

[MTI report: "Statement of the PPF National Presidium"]

[Text] At a PPF National Presidium session held on 27 June chaired by Gyula Kallai, MSZMP General Secretary and Premier Karoly Grosz gave a briefing on the MSZMP Central Committee session which was held on 23 June, and on Central Committee proposals on personnel changes, proposals on which it requested the concurrence of the PPF National Presidium. He said that one of the Central Committee proposals concerns the PPF directly because the Central Committee nominated PPF Secretary General Imre Pozsgay as minister of state. Grosz asked the PPF National Presidium to hold a debate on these proposals and support them.

Following the debate, the Presidium expressed unanimously agreement with the proposals and said they should be conveyed to the National Assembly and the Presidential Council as joint MSZMP Central Committee and the National PPF Council proposals. The Presidium determined that if the National Assembly elects Imre Pozsgay as minister of state, at the next PPF Presidium session they will make a move to relieve him of his duties as PPF general secretary, and propose Istvan Huszar, director of the Party History Institute and member of the PPF National Council and Secretariat, as the new PPF general secretary.

After this, the Presidium acknowledged that the Hungarian-Chinese Friendship Society had been reestablished within the framework of the PPF and made a decision to have the society registered.

Official Receives Report on Conscientious Objection

LD2907223688 Budapest MTI in English 1757 GMT 22 Jun 88

[Text] Budapest, June 29 (MTI)—On Wednesday Janos Peter, deputy speaker of the Hungarian National Assembly, met two representatives of the Hungarian network of East-West dialogue and took over a report of public interest on the introduction of social peace service. The report addressed to parliament was signed by 790 people.

The report proposes to enact the right of objecting military service and introduce alternative service (civil construction work, service in hospitals or the fire brigades, etc.). The proposers argued that many a country provide a legal opportunity for conscientious objection and make it possible for the objectors to replace armed service by doing voluntary work as free people. The legal conditions are given in Hungary as well since the constitution declared the freedom of conscience as clearly as the compulsory military service. Janos Peter promised the convey the report of public to the parliamentary commissions in charge of this issue.

Scientific Workers' Trade Established

Session Begins

LD2506153488 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 25 Jun 88

[Excerpts] The trade union of scientific workers is holding its founding session today. Mihaly Mueller reports:

[Mueller] The trade union of scientific workers, which enjoys the support of SZOT [National Council of Trade Unions], began its founding meeting this morning. This trade union will operate within the public employees' trade union, but independently from it; its members will be workers in scientific fields who until now have belonged to the public employees union and who do not want to join another organization. [passage omitted] The name of the organization, which was created with the support of SZOT, has not been finalized yet. I asked Dr Andras Baka, one of the organizers of the trade union of scientific workers, about the most important objectives.

[Begin recording] [Baka] We want to create a trade union which is as democratic as the TDDSZ [Democratic Trade Union of Scientific Workers] has been, or wishes

to be. We would like an independent trade union to be created which, itself, decides and represents in its own affairs, in the affairs concerning the scientific workers and research institutes, independently of all influence.

We do not preclude establishing contacts with the public employees or any other trade union that represents scientific interests, to ask advice, to inform them, to cooperate. In certain issues, this cooperation is virtually necessary. [end recording]

Program Determined

LD2506214888 Budapest MTI in English 1918 GMT 25 Jun 88

[Text] Budapest, June 25 (MTI)—On Saturday a foundation meeting was held by the trade union of the scientific workers for the representation of the scientific research employees, for the protection of scientific research and for the protection of the interests of its members. The meeting decided on the programme of the "Tudosz" and the general rules and elected leaders. The organization adopting the basic rules of the Hungarian trade unions wishes to work independently within the trade union of the public servants.

The bodies of the "Tudosz" claim right to prepare alternative proposals for the modernization of the system of researches, fellowship awarding, wage regulation, distribution of grants, innovation procedures. They claim that the trade union benefits (holidays, aids, housing subsidies) should be reviewed with the participation of "Tudosz". An independent self-help fund is proposed and the state unemployment benefit for those discharged from research institutions and its regulations should be elaborated with the involvement of the "Tudosz" boards.

Further on Founding Session

AU2906090388 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 27 Jun 88 p 4

[Text] The Scientific Workers Trade Union was established in Budapest on 25 June in order to further the interests and representation of workers in scientific research institutes. Also present at the founding session, which took place at the Central College of the National Trade Union Council [SZOT], was SZOT Secretary Ferenc Solyom. The conference of deputies decided to establish this organization; determined its program, organizational statute, and operational rules; and elected its presidium. The deputies elected a 9-member presidium whose members will work on a voluntary basis. Presidium members have equal rights and will elect their chairman. Accepting the statute of the Hungarian trade unions, this organization will function independently in the framework of the Government Employees' Trade Union.

Iranian Airliner Downing: 'Not Just Mistake'

AU0707100088 Waersaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 5 Jul 88 p 8

[Wlodzimierz Lozinski commentary: "Not Just A Mistake"]

[Text] I do not think U.S. President Ronald Reagan's detailed investigations into the downing of the Iranian passenger aircraft have contributed anything to this tragedy. Nothing can restore the lives of the 300 passengers who died. Nothing will deflect the missiles fired by the U.S. aircraft carrier [as published] "Vincennes." Nothing can cancel the mistake of the radar controllers who, according to American translations, saw only the blip of an approaching aircraft and took it to be an enemy fighter intent on destroying the carrier.

The air tragedy in the Persian Gulf is not a mistake by any individual, such as the duty air traffic controller who took a giant Airbus to be a small military aircraft; or the officer who, in fear of his ship, ordered the missiles to be fired; or the missile operator who fired them. This is the consequence of indirect involvement by an American military fleet in the Iran-Iraq war. I say "indirect" because, after all, the United States did not declare war officially. Officially, the intervention of a great power is allegedly humanitarian. According to President Ronald Reagan's assurances, the U.S. fleet is in the Persian Gulf only to safeguard the free passage of tankers carrying oil from Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, and Qatar.

But what does it mean to safeguard in a modern war? It means to forestall possible enemy action by means of an attack. And in accordance with this principle, the U.S. fleet is employing all the latest achievements of deadly military technology.

The world is convinced that if the Americans had not sent their ships to the Persian Gulf, the number of deaths there might still have been just as high. One cannot say so definitely. But one can certainly say that there would have been no downing of a civilian airliner. One can also say that U.S. involvement is exacerbating the war between Iran and Iraq. It seems that the United States could do much more to eliminate this regional war if it acted via diplomatic channels, as many countries have suggested.

The Persian Gulf tragedy gives rise to one more reflection on the "perfection" of modern military resources. It turns out that the more perfect weapons are, the more fallible they become.

During the Moscow summit, Ronald Reagan told Mikhail Gorbachev: "It is not that armaments cause mistrust, but that they are the consequence of mistrust." Almost 300 innocent passengers have paid for this mistrust. Do the U.S. leaders realize that they themselves are increasing the mistrust in the Persian Gulf by means of the presence of their own fleet?

'Error or Intentional Attack'

LD0607130488 Warsaw PAP in English 1110 GMT 6 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw, July 6—In a commentary on the shooting down of the Iranian Airbus, the ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI army daily said today that "the downing of the Iranian passenger plane 'Airbus-300' by the American USS 'Vincennes' guided missile warship generated indignation all over the world."

"The tragedy over the waters of the Persian Gulf may and should be considered on many planes, starting with the political one. However, it has posed many questions of the military nature the main of which is: How did it happen that one of world most modern warships did not recognize a passenger plane. Who failed in this case—man or technology. Might super modern technology have destroyed an object without man's interference. Was it an error or intentional attack," the paper pondered upon and added that there are many more such questions.

"Thus, what caused the tragedy of the Iranian plane—excessive belief in electronics and ensuing objective error or the will to use weapons... it is just this issue that specialists will have to precisely explain. But nobody will return lives to innocent victims" the daily concluded.

Further Commentary on 19th CPSU Conference

Conference Deemed 'Historic'

AU0607134988 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 2-3 Jul 88 p 6

[Dispatch by Henry Chadzynski, permanent correspondent in Moscow: "A Test of Boldness and Courage]

[Text] There is no doubt the decisions adopted at the 19th All-Union Party Conference will be deemed historic. The freshness of thought, the originality of the solutions, the establishment of democratic institutions, and, at last, norms of party activity that suit today's needs are all things that will be the subject of analysis and comment for a long time to come, especially once the basic documents are published. But even at this early juncture I would like to draw attention to the way in which the forum operated and to the atmosphere attending the proceedings that so surprised observers. This is because of the similarities with the new directions of the solutions that are characteristic of the changes that we are witnessing in the Soviet Union.

The conference became a kind test of openness and renewal. The assertion that the truth is not revealed from above, but is born during the course of debate, assumed a new significance and pertinence during the proceedings held in the Palace of Congresses. If I was asked what distinguished this forum from previous ones, I would say, without hesitation, that the main difference was that delegates did not arrive—as was the case in the past—to

approve decisions that had been prepared in advance. At one time, at meetings of this kind the opinion of a first secretary was considered an inviolable right. This time things were different. On this occasion, to take just one example, Mikhail Gorbachev's proposal to merge the posts of party first secretary and chairman of the executive committee of a Soviet of deputies not only gave rise to doubts, but even to heated debate. It is significant that doubts were expressed by both a member of the Academy of Sciences and a worker. Mikhail Gorbachev took the floor once again to justify and, above all, explain the intention behind the proposal and behind the entire concept of the reform of the political system as a whole. I spoke to delegates from Estonia who at first wanted to speak against the proposal to merge the posts, but once additional arguments had been put forward, they changed their position. Thus, the main features were debate, the clash of opinions, and discussion. Was it ever conceivable in the past that a worker could speak out against an idea put forward by a first secretary and one contained in a report approved by the Politburo at that.

During the event, delegates imposed their own plans for the course of the proceedings. There were calls from the floor for an explanation of many troublesome issues. It was requested that Boris Yeltsin, former chief of the Moscow party organization, be allowed to speak. A worker spontaneously mounted the platform to say that time was running out and that instead of discussing trivial matters, fundamental issues should be resolved. There was no pussyfooting when it came to discussing not only the mistakes made by ministries but those made by the Central Committee as well. The atmosphere was typical for restructuring, but it is also necessary when pioneering solutions to many problems have to be sought.

Prof Dmitriy Likhachev, an outstanding Leningrad scholar and chairman of the Soviet Cultural Foundation, provided a very different picture of what made the forum different. He said: "I am not a delegate. I am not a party member but I was invited—besides I am not the only one—as a guest and that sets some kind of precedent. I am 82 years old and I have lived through many historical events that have marked a watershed, but today I am surprised at the unprecedented speed with which moral and spiritual regeneration is taking place and the determination shown at the conference to counter all attempts to return to old practices, to stifle the free expression of opinions by using all kind of scare tactics."

Thanks to the decisions concerning directions, the conference will, above all, provide a new impetus to processes of change. That the conference itself became an example of change in attitudes, of clashes of opinion, and of the practice of politics suggests that the resolutions adopted at it, which express support for restructuring, will be received by society as those that it hoped for, because they meet the pressing need of the present time.

Historical Context Examined

AU0607155088 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 2-3 Jul 88 pp 1, 11

[Janusz Karkoszka dispatch: "New Image of Socialism"]

[Text] Moscow—Many people with whom I watched the 19th CPSU Conference, which ended on 1 July, say that it could be compared to three events in Russia and the USSR: The seventh conference of the Social-Democratic Workers Party of Russia in 1917, during which V. Lenin formulated the new political line of the Bolsheviks—the strategy of peacefully intensifying the revolutionary process expressed in the slogan of "All Power to the Soviets;" the 20th CPSU Congress in 1956, which initiated the overcoming of the personality cult as alien to Marxism-Leninism; and the CPSU Plenum in April 1986, which decreed the acceleration of socioeconomic development, the comprehensive renewal of Soviet society, and the raising of socialism to a qualitatively higher level.

Each aforementioned event and the 19th CPSU Conference initiated a momentous period in the life of the party and the people.

The conference was supposed to answer one key question—how to intensify the process of restructuring and to make it irreversible. The brief answer was: to continue the process of democratizing Soviet society and to profoundly reform the political system.

According to the conference, the reform of the political system offers the best opportunities to accelerate changes and gives the main guarantees to make them irreversible. It is no accident that precisely these issues have been emphasized. This emphasis is a result of the analysis of a relatively recent past. The CPSU has often launched extensive reform activities in the sociopolitical field. The CPSU Plenum in September 1953 initiated a profound process of reforms in rural areas, but within a few years everything returned to "normal." In March 1965 more reforms were attempted in rural areas, the entire economy, and party activities. At that time many of those problems had been tackled that were addressed later on by the April plenum, the 27th congress, and the 19th conference.

What was it that those attempts lacked in those days? The CPSU leadership and the 19th conference agreed that those attempts lacked a reform of the political system to an extent that would fully commit the masses to all the processes of society's development. Much has been done in this regard, M. Gorbachev said at the end of the conference, but these measures must continue to develop.

There were many specific proposals to this end at the conference, and most of them were adopted for realization. The most important ones include the return of openness, candor, criticism, and self-criticism. All this

has caused a violent increase in people's political militancy. The role and powers of the councils of people's deputies were fully restored, and the councils themselves will become fully fledged representative bodies of the people. Relations between the party and the state will be changed and the functions of the party and the state will be strictly delimited. Important changes will take place in the party itself and in its internal life. Principles, in line with which people are elected to party functions and to councils at all levels, will also be changed.

It is impossible to list most of the proposals included in the measures referring to the democratization of Soviet society and to the reform of the political system. There are still many issues that concern the task of creating a legally governed socialist state as a form of the organization and functioning of political rule.

The conference is over. Its second stage, which is certainly the most important, is about to begin. This is the stage of realizing the proposed solutions that seek to give a new image to socialism and to intensify the process of perestroyka and make it irreversible.

Significance Assessed

AU0607151588 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 4 Jul 88 p 6

[Commentary by Jerzy Kraszewski and Antoni Kruczkowski: "Three Years and Four Days"]

[Text] One can assess the conference's significance according to various criteria. One can say it has enriched the programmatic line of the 27th Congress. One can consider the proposals to reform the Soviet state as the most important matter. One can forecast how fast the resolutions will speed up the reforms. And one can write that the greatest criterion is guarantees that the reforms will be continued.

These are certainly authentic criteria. But there is another, supreme one. The CPSU has tried to answer the key question: What are the party and Soviet state to be like after 70 years of building a new system? Delegates considered an answer to this question as the key to solving many problems. The answer has been formulated, and will be contained in CPSU programmatic thought. Life will verify this thought and amend it with new experiences.

Three years have passed since the 1985 Central Committee plenum which started the revaluation of experiences, and just over 2 years since the 27th congress. The conference lasted 4 days.

The delegates answered questions about the party thus: One must revive the concept of Leninism; restore to it its political, ideological, and moral supremacy; and release it from administration. Next, taking the new conditions into account, one must define Leninism's place in political life. One must create a mechanism which strengthens the party's vanguard role, not weakens it. The delegates did not hide the fact that all this is difficult, and often expressed fears that went further than that.

Asked about authority, the delegates said: Authority must be vested in the Soviets. The Soviets must change, become real bodies of people's rule in the Leninist sense, and assume responsibility for all the country's affairs. The Soviets are going to be elected according to new, more democratic principles. The executive apparatus will be made subordinate to the Soviets not just formally, as is the case at present, but genuinely. The delegates warned against ignoring the difficulties that will accompany all this. V. Smirnov, a worker from Leningrad, spoke about attempted clashes between the Soviets and the party, saying that there have been calls for turning the Soviets into forces of opposition against the party.

Mikhail Gorbachev described the interdependence between the party's leading role and the independence of the Soviets as follows: "No state, economic, or social matter can be decided without the Soviets. Party economic, social, and nationalist policy must chiefly be implemented via the Soviets of people's deputies as bodies of people's rule." And further: "Perestroyka cannot be implemented without party activity that establishes its course and without the implementation of the party line. Otherwise perestroyka will be doomed—politically and organizationally."

The party's leading role will be consolidated by abandoning administrative methods and detailed intervention, and at the same time by improving political methods, enforcing the responsibility of cadres, and establishing long-term tasks.

The conference assessed the implementation of the resolutions of the 27th Congress, and adopted a comprehensive program for the political system, plus an expanded program of further democratization to the life of the party and society. It laid down the paths of reforming the economy and improving the organization of the authorities.

No doubt it also set new stimuli of change in motion and furnished a party assessment of the 3 years of experience and analysis of phenomena which had caused so much emotion during the preconference debates, and not just during these debates. And finally, the conference put forth a clear concept for a new stage of perestroyka. The key problem is reforming the political system; further democratizing social relations; clearly demarcating party, economic, and administrative functions; and altering the structure of the supreme state authorities.

The program was born out of discussion. Though there were no doubts as to the purpose of various methods and resources, there were differences in opinion and a clash of different views about which ones to select.

It was decided to continue the policy of glasnost.

Even when some journalists and writers were criticized for their not always carefully considered views or their sensation-seeking, the pioneer-like role of the press in perestroyka and its major role in establishing new thinking and action were highlighted.

There were differences in view about how first secretaries should be nominated to be chairmen of the Soviets (there was a separate vote on this part of the resolution, with 209 votes against). The motion that the secretary general should convene a congress directly, instead of the Central Committee, only gained 145 votes. The motion to convert PRAVDA from a Central Committee organ to a party organ was rejected. There were disputes about the length of terms of office and about the planned certification of communists. The so-called Yeltsin question closed the emotional and open discussion.

We are writing about these polemics and different approaches toward the topics under discussion not because they set the tone of the debate, but because they permit one to form an opinion about the views of the party aktivs vis-a-vis the speed and methods of perestroyka; about the atmosphere in the Palace of Congresses; and about the strength of the Soviet party, its ideological countenance, and the changes inside the party. The stance of the conference was born out of an authentic confrontation of thoughts, but also out of a feeling of enormous responsibility for the fortunes of the party, country, and socialism.

The changes initiated by the CPSU 3 years ago are a difficult process, full of tension and internal discrepancies. The precepts of perestroyka are changing as a result of the debate, and are being tested in practice. Those watching the honest and open party debate in the Palace of Congresses were reminded of the transcripts of party debates in the early twenties....

It is no exaggeration that the conference spoke for 4 days in an atmosphere of particular social interest. Neither is it an exaggeration to say that the conference was a major event for the CPSU and Soviet Union, and not just for them.

Democratization Tasks Viewed

AU0707100788 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 5 Jul 88 pp 1, 9

[Janusz Karkoszka dispatch: "Authority in Action"]

[Text] Moscow—Although the CPSU conference is over, it continues to be keenly discussed by various communities, and subjects are plentiful. A large number of them was supplied by M. Gorbachev and by most of the 66 delegates who were able to take the floor. PRAVDA and IZVESTIYA have published their statements in full. Many new ideas will certainly be also contributed by the over 200 delegate statements that, for lack of time, had to be filed. They will be published with other conference documents.

The conference adopted seven resolutions, including: "On the Implementation of the 27th CPSU Congress Resolutions and on Tasks of Intensifying Restructuring," "On Democratization of Soviet Society and on Reform of the Political System," "On Nationality Relations," "On Openness," "On Reform of Laws, and "On Some Immediate Measures To Facilitate the Practical Realization of the Reform of the State's Political System." This last resolution sets in motion the mechanisms by which the proposed changes are carried out.

It is easy to see that the task of democratizing the life of Soviet society was the main issue examined by the conference. This is no accident, because the CPSU Central Committee leadership and many delegates take the view that further democratization is the foundation of the perestroyka foundations. It is the view of the conference that democratization must not leave out any sphere of life, including party life. What is more, the party should also set examples in this regard.

This stream of thinking and action is the source of many specific undertakings. Even before this year is over, an accountability and election campaign will be held in party organizations in line with new principles. The conference also decided that by the end of this year the party apparatus will be reorganized and its structure will be changed as necessary to clearly delimit the functions of the party and those of the Councils of People's Deputies.

This means that the role of the party has been radically changed and that a clear switch has been made over to the type of the party conceived by V. Lenin.

"What does this mean?" PRAVDA asked in an editorial article. "Primarily this means that methods of command decisions and directives should be abandoned forever and that party policy should be realized exclusively through organizational, cadre, and ideological work strictly adhering to the laws and to the democratic principles of public life. This also means that party organizations and committee will have to abandon the practice of deputizing for and doubling state bodies and to drop the policy of diktat vis-a-vis trade unions, the Komsomol, and other organizations. The fears of some people that the party's leading role will weaken under such conditions are useless. Nothing of the kind! The conference noted that, by remaining in power, the party retains all the necessary means of realizing its leading role. The main means is the 20 million of Soviet communists, on whom the party can rely in realizing its political line in all spheres."

The 19th conference's decisions in this regard will be a tough nut to crack for at least some party activists. The leading role of the party and of every party employee [pracownik] will be demonstrated by real authority, which will have to be won by specific efforts. It will not be demonstrated by the authority of the function or of the title as has often been the case before. This means that there will be no room in the party for so-called observers and inert people who passively watch the course of events and adapt themselves to them. "Every communist who deserves this description," PRAVDA noted, "should become a militant fighter for perestroyka and for society's revolutionary renewal."

This is the most important message of the 19th conference. It is also an answer to the question agitating many people in the USSR: "What should one do to ensure that perestroyka becomes an irreversible process?

Speed, Scope of Changes Examined

AU0607153888 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 2-3 Jul 88 p 8

[Wlodzimierz Lozinski commentary: "The World Is Listening to and Watching Moscow"]

[Text] A week has passed that was full of world events capable of filling the pages of newspapers even without the CPSU All-Union Conference. France elected a new government. An EEC session on the paths of unification until 1992 met in Hannover. In the United States, the presidential election campaign opened a new stage of rivalry between Bush and Dukakis. However, all these events move to the sidelines to make room for the Soviet event.

When thinking about the conference, we experience something which one may call a general fascination, regardless of the degree of one's pro or anti-Soviet sentiment. A commentator in the London GUARDIAN was struck by the speed of the changes, "as if there were no tomorrow." THE WASHINGTON POST notes the "courage" with which the Soviet party leadership has approached the reforms in all spheres of political, social, and economic life. France's LE MONDE writes about "acceleration as a supreme principle of perestroyka." In the socialist press, the reports say everything there is to say, and I have no doubt that everyone is finding them fascinating.

First, the speed of the Soviet changes. After all, only 3 years have elapsed since the April 1985 CPSU Plenum, at which Mikhail Gorbachev was appointed secretary general. Of course, optimists forecasted that the very choice of Gorbachev would augur numerous changes, but, apart from the Soviet inner leadership, no one would have guessed that the changes would be so rapid.

Second, the scope of the proposed and implemented changes is fascinating. Pride of place is taken by the reform to the entire political structure as a factor meant to determine the success of the social and economic restructuring. As Gorbachev said and the conference confirmed, the priority of political reforms was determined by criticism of the slow rate of economic changes. It was said that these changes are inadequate, and still cannot be felt. Therefore to implement acceleration in the whole of socioeconomic life and in agriculture and industry, it is necessary to create political-social instruments which release human energy. This purpose is to be served by new bodies of local authority, free of bureaucratic directives from above, and by an entire Leninist philosophy of socialist people's rule. This is a pillar of the changes in the Soviet Union.

It seems that the essence of the reform is not only a separation of the party's leading and inspiring role from the administrative functions of the executive apparatus, but also an implementation of the Leninist principle of maximum civic involvement in joint decision-making on the subject of the country's future.

The point is also to clearly define the tasks and duties of legislative, executive, and judicial-control authority. The conference said that a clear definition thereof is a basic condition in order to avoid the voluntarism, errors, and distortions that hampered the Soviet Union's entire development in the past.

Third, the openness and sincerity with which the conference delegates and entire Soviet Union are discussing matters of fundamental importance not just for the socialist power, but also for international relations, is striking. Nothing is taboo. Nothing and no one is a "sacred cow." The conviction about the need to keep past distortions secret and not talk about this or that because it might harm the country or socialism has disappeared. It has been replaced by the conviction that no truth can cause any harm if it helps overcome past sluggishness and difficulties. Neither can anything be rejected because it does not suit doctrine. Instead, everything must be tested in practice if it may help accelerate development and satisfy the highest human needs.

A commentator on these events is struck by one more thing, the fact that the great Soviet reforms are not the result of temporary requirements, but of political necessity, which the party leadership is aware of. This is occurring in the way it should occur, in accordance with the principles of socialism itself, as a system that fulfills the supreme ideals of humanitarianism. Man as the implementer of revolution and of the current, equally revolutionary, changes is now at the center of Soviet domestic and foreign policy. The quality of human life is to be influenced by political and economic changes. Such a concept arouses optimism and faith in the success of the reforms.

"The revolution within a revolution" is a time when people are spreading wings that will permit them an unrestricted flight to the future. The Soviet Union is experiencing such a moment today. Here in Poland, this is arousing the broadest positive feeling and support.

Polish-Soviet Common Market Discussed

LD0607220688 Warsaw PAP in English
1623 GMT 6 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw, July 6—Headed by Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Chairman of the USSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supply Lev Voronin, a governmental delegation of the Soviet Union is currently on a visit to Poland.

During talks, in which the Polish side was headed by Deputy Prime Minister Zbigniew Szalajda, opinions were exchanged on the systems of material supply in the two countries with an eye to their modification.

The sides discussed possibilities to establish conditions encouraging enterprises to utilize their own financial means and to make direct purchases of raw materials, machines and equipment from a foreign partner.

Also discussed were methods of expanding specialization and cooperation in purchases of commodities which have been heretofore imported at considerable expense from capitalist countries.

The talks were concluded with the signing of a joint protocol on their course and adopted resolutions.

After the plenary debates were completed, heads of both the delegations granted interviews to PAP and prime-time television news bulletin.

Soviet Deputy Prime Minister Voronin emphasized that both sides planned development of direct trade between economic units of Poland and the Soviet Union as well as development of joint production for mutual needs.

"We have moreover resolved," said the Soviet deputy prime minister, "to set up working groups which are to meet by the end of this September and make plans of ventures to be embarked upon with a view to better utilization of production capacity in Poland and the Soviet Union, so that prospective needs of the two countries are met in a better degree. [no closing quotation mark as received]

Deputy Prime Minister Zbigniew Szalajda pointed to the fact that one of the most important objectives was to establish a common market of Poland and the Soviet Union.

The point here is to enable enterprises of both the countries to actually trade and collaborate using roubles and zlotys as a value measure and making provisions for the requirement that the price should reflect the cost.

Polish Hunger-Strikers on Protest in Vienna

LD0407231188 Warsaw PAP in English
1638 GMT 4 Jul 88

[Text] Vienna, July 4—Sixty-six Poles who seek political asylum in Vienna have been on hunger strike for a week now because their applications have been rejected, the DPA news agency reported on Monday.

Amnesty International said on Monday that the Poles intend to settle in other countries and that two of them have been hospitalized because of poor health condition while another three were put under arrest by the police.

On May 1 Austria introduced a new regulation which makes it possible for the authorities to summarily decide who can be qualified as a political refugee.

Diplomat Views Situation

LD0607165888 Warsaw PAP in English
1009 GMT 6 Jul 88

[By PAP Correspondent Franciszek Malinowski]

[Text] Vienna, July 6—The number of Poles who seek asylum in Austria is on the increase, according to the Austrian APA news agency which also reported on the ongoing hunger strike of 66 Polish citizens whose political asylum applications had been rejected by the Austrian authorities and on the criticism of this stand by the Amnesty International.

Commenting on the dramatic increase in Polish and Hungarian emigres in this country, Austrian Interior Minister Karl Blecha stated on Tuesday that 90 percent of Polish asylum seekers were economically motivated. The resumption of visa free traffic cannot mean the opening of a one-way road leading directly to refugee camps.

Further emigration to tradition emigre countries has been considerably restricted, which has made great numbers of emigrants pile up in Austria, Blecha said.

Tomasz Szarewicz, head of the consular section of the Polish Embassy in Austria, made the following statement for Austrian mass media: "In connection with press reports on the situation of Polish asylum seekers in Austria I would like to say that Polish diplomatic and consular personnel will grant all necessary aid to those persons who will decide to return to Poland."

"I would like to recall that those people who have decided to stay abroad longer than they declared in their passport applications face no legal consequences back at home," Szarewicz stated.

Jaruzelski Discusses Problems of Emigration

AU0707065188 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 4 Jul 88 p 9

["Theses" from speech by Wojciech Jaruzelski at the 27 April session of the Consultative Council, attached to the State Council chairman, discussing current issues of Polish emigration]

[Text]—The extensive nature of emigration problems makes it necessary to establish intensified and better coordinated cooperation among various ministries and to increase the efficiency of the services, units, and institutions concerned.

—We want to develop and maintain contacts with Poles abroad. We want to make it easier for them to keep in touch with their relatives, friends, science, culture, and education in Poland. Whatever hinders such contacts should be eliminated.

—Many members of the Consultative Council are in favor of the so-called greater freedom of foreign trips. But we do not isolate ourselves from the world. Millions and millions of Poles continue to travel to Eastern and Western countries as private individuals, tourists, and officials. Some of them stay abroad to work on longer or shorter contracts, to participate in scientific research, to lecture at foreign universities, and so on.

—We should back temporary trips abroad to find out about achievements of modern science, to gain qualifications, and to acquire professional experience for good use in Poland. In such cases we must be open, flexible, and downright generous.

—I agree with those who say that we should not lump together under the same denominator all decisions about individual trips abroad, because many decisions are often dictated by very difficult and complicated personal reasons, needs, and situations. However, we must not behave in such a way as to provide an alibi for every decision to go abroad, especially for decisions to emigrate for good. In this regard, our behavior must take into account the country's and the people's overriding interests.

—Nor can we ignore the compromising phenomenon of shameful fake tourism. During my visits to Greece and Hungary I was embarrassed by lists of charges leveled against some Polish tourists. This problem is a great shame for us.

—This session has discussed with great concern the emigration of some young Poles who go abroad expecting that their conditions will radically improve and their aspirations will be fulfilled. That such expectations are completely illusory can be best seen in the disappointment and personal dramas that are often the lot of Poles abroad.

—It is a pity that aspirations to get rich quickly do not usually go hand in hand with other ambitions such as keeping abreast with the rich countries in work, social discipline, thrift, and order, because these qualities are mainly responsible for living standards.

—I fully share the critical views about our red tape, which still hinders the development of talented, enterprising, and ingenious individuals. We must finally do away with this red tape and help the younger generation to more fully realize its professional, scientific, and material aspirations.

—I also share the view that we should accelerate efforts to adapt studies to long-term needs of the economy and to eliminate disproportions in this regard. The Planning Commissions should complete its work on this at an earlier date.

—I cannot accept that skillful workers cannot find jobs. This simplified argument, reinforced by statements that Poland offers no prospects and opportunities, has now become fashionable. This is facile argumentation, one that provides an easy excuse for emigrating and makes emigration a difficult but necessary choice. It is not true that jobs are difficult to get in our country. There are enough jobs countrywide, but specialists would like to work mainly in big cities, whereas Poland is not a country of only of a dozen or so large conurbations. Poland consists of thousands and thousands of small townships and villages, which also need physicians, teachers, engineers, agronomists, and so on.

—I think we should be more open about our countrymen who sell their brains and physical strength in a shameful way abroad. We should know that some scientists go to the rich United States, taking with them new inventions, developed in Polish laboratories and for Polish funds, to sell them there on better terms and for dollars in the bargain.

—I have said that we must not condemn every trip abroad, because individual reasons are so varied and complicated that it is impossible to lump such trips together under the same denominator. On the other hand, all government bodies and individual communities must take interest in the general reasons for emigration.

—I share the critical view that the low wages of the intelligentsia are an unhealthy phenomenon, but I think that the intelligentsia communities could sort out their many wage problems in their own way by, say, eliminating excessive employment, reducing too many organizational structures, and more extensively utilizing the enterprise systems of wages.

—Some of the participants at this session stressed that it is necessary to set up new social organizations. I fully agree with them that the activities of such organizations should be given more scope and that there should be no artificial curbs in this regard. This is the purpose of the new bill on associations.

Urban 28 Jun Press Conference
LD2806181888 Warsaw PAP in English
1400 GMT 28 Jun 88

[By Anna Gembicka, Janusz Zaleski]

[Text] Warsaw, June 28—The key topics touched upon during the press conference held today by Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban were: A commentary on the just started 19th CPSU Conference in Moscow, Wojciech Jaruzelski's meeting with Erich Honecker, an assessment of the visit by Archbishop Colasuonno to Poland, a commentary on the recently signed CMEA-EEC declaration, more on the government spokesman's proposal to travel to Munich and more on elections.

19th CPSU Conference

Polish society, including the authorities of Poland, today is beginning to follow with great interest and great hopes the course of the CPSU Party Conference, Urban stated.

The Soviet Union draws our attention as Poland's most important ally, a huge neighbouring country and world superpower. The conference is to debate an expansion of the range of immense Soviet transformations of historical importance for the whole socialist formation, Poland inclusive. We endorse the revolution in the revolution, [as received] namely perestroyka. In treading a very similar mainstream, Poland wishes all the delegates effective debates, bearing fruit in new impulses for transformations and reforms. We wish the debates success because the profound transformations inside the Soviet Union and the global Soviet policy arising from them, which is conducive to the stabilization of peace and bringing down international tension and armaments, are dear to us. The new Soviet policy and the spirit of perestroika and glasnost are favourable for Polish state and national interests and in the broad meaning a more positive shaping of relations in the world, the spokesman pointed out.

Jaruzelski-Honecker Meeting

I wish to stress the significance of recent developments in Wroclaw: The meeting of Polish and GDR youth, and meetings of both countries' leaders. Wojciech Jaruzelski called the Wroclaw-signed treaty on the cause of youth friendship a great investment for future, foundation of friendship between our countries and nations also in the coming century. This is a far-going and deep-penetrating agreement, Jerzy Urban said.

We are grateful to Erich Honecker for his willingness to personally come to Wroclaw to sign the agreement and meet with the young people.

In his toast delivered at a dinner to honour Erich Honecker the Polish leader spoke of solving all problems between our countries in the spirit of mutual understanding and friendship. Anticipating the inquiries about the question of waters division in the Pomeranian Bay I want to say that talks over this point were held in Wroclaw in this very spirit.

During the talks both sides stood on the grounds of liberal, free, absolutely unrestricted access of Polish ports to the open sea.

Both leaders recommended Polish and GDR foreign ministers to hold in the nearest future meetings of experts and themselves on the issue.

Colasuonno Visit

The most important part of the visit was the visit of Archbishop Colasuonno to Wojciech Jaruzelski. The conversation between the two confirmed the mutual willingness to develop relations between the Apostolic See and Poland and to proceed to a higher phase. According to our evaluations, the meeting served the development of state-church relations. Archbishop Colasuonno was also received by Foreign Minister Olechowski, who handed the Vatican envoy a draft of convention between Poland and the Apostolic See worked out by a wording team composed of representatives of Polish Government and the Episcopate. Further discussion over the draft will continue. We find that things are moving forward at a good pace as far as works on the law on the church's status are concerned. The works are fairly advanced but still require months of meetings and discussions.

I can also stress the very good atmosphere of the works, similarly as of the course of talks, Urban said.

CMEA-EEC cooperation

Asked to comment on the just signed joint declaration between the CMEA and the EEC, the spokesman stated:

"Poland has received this declaration with deep satisfaction. This is an act which in our view proves the realism of the partners and their readiness to pursue constructive dialogue. This declaration is both of political and economic significance. It confirms the vitality of all-European ideas and enters these all-European ideas into the process of comprehensive improvement of East-West relations. It also opens the way to matter-of-fact cooperation between both organizations (CMEA and EEC). This can to a significant degree boost economic relations between EEC- and CMEA-member states.

"Poland, like a score of other CMEA-member states, sets before itself two key goals in the new phase of dialogue with the EEC conducted for 2 years: an expansion of the treaty-based foundations of economic and commercial cooperation and the establishment of official relations with European communities in general. We expressed readiness for a full normalization of relations with the communities in the May of 1986 in a letter of the Polish foreign affairs minister to the commissar of the community for external relations.

"We continue to uphold this readiness. We expect that the contacts with the economic community envisaged for the near future will allow our intentions to be put into detail."

On Visit to Munich

"The proposal of my visit to Radio Free Europe was the topic of numerous commentaries in the Western press. And coming to the crux of the matter, I am still waiting for the announced letter from Mr. Pell, the president of the American radio station," Urban stated.

"I want to correct the information aired by the Voice of America on June 22, this year that: 'This would be Urban's second visit to this city. He was in Munich for the first time in 1957 when he made a stopover on his way from Paris to Warsaw along with a group of newsmen from the 'PO PROSTU' weekly,'" the spokesman said, adding:

"The Voice of America also referred to the recollections of Jan Nowak, former director of the Polish section of Radio Free Europe who wrote that I was a member of a group of arrivers who were allegedly to instigate Radio Free Europe against their own country.

"I am proclaiming all of this to be fabrications. I have never been in Munich, nor in the FRG in general. I did not travel from Paris to Warsaw in 1957 because I visited Paris for the first time a quarter of a century later. I have never seen Mr. Jan Nowak. Hence, I could not have—as he wrote—engaged in a conversation with him.

"The only truth is that in the said period I worked for 'PO PROSTU' but this is no reason for creating an impression in Polish public opinion through false information and the quoting of the unreliable recollections of Jan Nowak that in leaving at present for a polemical meeting with the Polish section of Radio Free Europe I am making another visit to my old pals," the spokesman said.

Urban added that he goes to Munich to argue, present our charges and show how the activities of Radio Free Europe compare with the real life in Poland. We have not changed at the tiniest degree our negative opinion of that radio station, the principles of its functioning, and programming.

Walesa Vis a Vis Agreement Process

Asked whether it is possible to include Lech Walesa in the dialogue and talks the spokesman said:

Generally we are ready to include, as it is known, all the people who act in the spirit that things in Poland improve not deteriorate, want a calm work not conflict sparking. The problem with Walesa consists in that he is a man who speaks out highly changeable opinions and his conduct is changeable too. If Lech Walesa settles on the ground of agreement and constructive cooperation this would certainly re-open the possibility to accept him too in the agreement process.

Wladyslaw Baka

Asked whether having assumed a post in the party leadership Professor Baka will keep his post as president of the National Bank of Poland, Urban replied:

Professor Baka has two offices at the moment. I do not think, however, that he will manage to combine the duties of CC secretary responsible for such a vital sector as economy with those of the leader of a huge institution like his bank.

Reaction to Urban's Announced Resignation

Asked about the reaction to the announcement of his readiness to give up his post as government spokesman Urban said:

I have received many letters voicing regret, while there was no response from my colleagues in the government.

More on Milk

The spokesman once again touched upon the matter of powdered baby milk, stating: "At the last conference I mistakingly said that only the imported 'Humana' brand milk and the Polish 'Bebiko' and 'Laktovit' were fit for feeding babies. At issue is the mistakingly used word 'only.' I am sorry. The Ministry of Health explains that also ordinary milk for babies, produced in quantities satisfying the demand, is good for feeding babies.

"This milk, which is produced in amounts exceeding the needs, is lacking in some stores only from time to time. The reason for this is that it is being bought for purposes other than feeding babies," the spokesman explained.

Procedure of Announcing Election Returns

"Voivodship electoral commissions are obliged to announced to the public in the form of communiques: the collective returns of elections to people's councils of the basic level and the returns of elections to voivodship people's councils containing a full list of candidates with the number of votes they received as well as who was finally elected.

"Such communiques have already appeared in many voivodships.

"Today's communique (June 28, 1988) carried in TRYBUNA LUDU contains only the names of people who were elected to the capital's people's council. It does not meet the said requirements. The voivodship electoral commission in Warsaw was obliged to once again publish the results of elections to the municipal people's council in Warsaw which would meet the requirements mentioned above. This is quite important because it is against a communique formulated this way that appeals can be forwarded in a 7-day period," the spokesman elaborated.

Urban added that the turnout in the city of Katowice totalled 44.8 percent and in the Katowice voivodship 52.2 percent.

The spokesman also corrected a mistake which he made at the previous press conference as regards Poznan. The turnout there totalled not 52.5 percent but 32.4 percent, he stated.

Katyn

Asked about this affair the spokesman said that it is dealt with by historians. The Soviet side has analysed Western sources applicable to the crime of Katyn and the Polish side studied Soviet and Polish sources. A task group has recently visited Warsaw as two such groups are working, and this shows intensification of the works done by the commission of historians. Another group will come to Warsaw soon. Their works are being stepped up according to the political recommendation, Urban stressed.

Gay Association

Interrogated about the registration of a gay association the spokesman said that the issue was still being pondered. The result is not pre-judged but it should be remembered that an organization of this type arouses public controversion.

Prices, Wages

Answering a question related to the fresh hikes on passenger car prices Urban recalled that in line with the announcement official prices of food would not go up this year, while market prices, free prices of various goods will grow of course. The government only prevents their excessive increase.

Answering a question about the wages, costs of living and the inflation rate Urban said that he expects the computation and publication of data covering the first half of this year by about July 20. In tune with the announcement this will be followed by talks with representatives of trade unions, farmers' organizations, and the government in order to draw conclusions from this analysis.

This conforms with the previously established rules of the game that after the first half of the year the situation in wages and prices would be studied.

Urban also commented on the introduction of petrol sales at commercial prices. He said that the legal obstacles connected with two prices on the same product: official and commercial, had been eliminated by the Sejm which gave the government the right to list articles and their official prices, and the government used this right now.

Dascalescu Gives Report on Pay, Pension Increase

AU0707092088 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 30 Jun 88 p 2

["Report on Draft Bill Regarding the Increase in the Remuneration of Working Personnel and on Draft Bill Regarding the Increase in Occupational and Old Age State Social Security Pensions and in Pensions for Disabled People and War Invalids, Presented by Comrade Constantin Dascalescu, Prime Minister of the Government, at the 29 June Session of the Grand National Assembly"]

[Text] Much esteemed and beloved Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, esteemed Comrades Deputies: From the great rostrum of the Grand National Assembly and upon the authorization of the party and state leadership, please permit me to present the new measures for increasing working people's remuneration and pensions formulated upon the initiative and under the direct guidance of the party secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu.

The draft bills submitted for discussions and for the endorsement of our country's supreme legislative body are a new and telling expression of the correctness of our party's and state's policy aimed at our homeland's multifaceted development and prosperity and of the constant concern with continuously increasing the material and cultural standard of living of all our people.

Within this framework too, I view it as a duty of my conscience to mention the prominent personality of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu—fearless revolutionary militant, enthusiastic patriot, ingenious strategist of Romania's march forward on the victorious road of socialism and communism, and founder of a new era, who has devoted all his life to serving the vital interests of the people with boundless devotion and to raising our nation to new heights of progress and civilization.

Fully agreeing with the feelings and firm desire of all our people, I want to emphasize especially Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's role in formulating the plans and programs for the intensive development of the economy, the set of measures ensuring the unflinching implementation of the decisions of the 13th RCP Congress and the national conference, and his role in clearly guiding the efforts of all working people to vigorously expand and constantly modernize the productive potential, make better use of material resources and the labor force, and to achieve a new quality in work and life in all areas.

The great achievements attained, particularly in the glorious years of the Nicolae Ceausescu Era, undeniably prove on the basis of facts the profoundly humane nature of the whole work of our society's revolutionary transformation and the indisputable truth that the supreme goal of everything that is being achieved in Romania is to improve the standard of living of the working people and ensure the well-being and happiness of the Romanian people.

Now, on the eve of the 23d anniversary since Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu was elected to the helm of our party, all our people pay fervent and warm homage to the creative thinking and comprehensive and revolutionary activity of our eminent leader, as well as to his ability to investigate what is new based on the direct knowledge and objective appreciation of phenomena and on the bold analysis of the economic and social activity in the spirit of the most rigorous requirements of science.

The great targets you, much esteemed and beloved Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, have set for us in each stage are an excellent example of fervent patriotism and great organizational capability to mobilize the creative energy of the entire nation fully in keeping with the basic principle regarding the construction of socialism with the people and for the people.

This is why all our people turn their thoughts with all their love toward Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the humane Communist and hero among the heroes of our nation, whose supreme aspiration is to make our nation rank among the most prosperous countries in the world.

Esteemed Comrades, it is Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's historic merit to have formulated a socioeconomic development strategy of wide openness based on the firm application of the most modern achievements of the current scientific and technological revolution, on perfecting the organization and modernization of the production process, and on making better use of raw and other materials, fuels, and energy—essential factors for intensive economic growth in the current stage of building the comprehensively developed socialist society and Romania's advance toward communism.

The noteworthy achievements attained in raising our country to new heights of progress and civilization, as a result of a sustained effort of accumulation and on the basis of the working people's intensive creative activity, have increased the national income at a high rate and—on this basis—the consumption fund, and incomes of all categories of the population.

Thus in the 1966-87 period, incomes derived from work increased substantially, mainly as a result of the almost three-fold increase in the nominal average remuneration. Social security pensions for full length of service increased more than 2.7 times, while pensions for invalids increased 3-fold.

On the initiative of the party and Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu personally, measures have been taken to firmly apply the principle of distribution according to work performed, by more closely linking remuneration to the results achieved. Steps were also taken to

strengthen material incentive and commendably implement the principles of socialist ethics and equity in distributing incomes derived from work by implementing the remuneration on the basis of the piecemeal and overall contract system in each unit and category of personnel.

Esteemed comrades, the provisions of the two draft bills, submitted for discussion to the Grand National Assembly and unanimously endorsed yesterday by the Central Committee, through their deeply humane nature, are part and parcel of our party's constant concern with continuously improving the standard of living, ensuring a full balance between expanding the forces of production and improving the wellbeing of the population, harmonizing current interests with those of the future, and with ensuring the multifaceted prosperity of the human personality.

On the basis of the decisions of the 13th RCP Congress and the national conference, the draft bill on the increase in remuneration of the working personnel stipulates that beginning with the second half of this year the working people's pay will increase in general, so that in 1990 the net nominal average pay will amount to 3,285 lei, which is a 10 percent increase compared with 1985.

The pay increase—from which more than 7.9 million working people will benefit—will take place in stages beginning with August this year, so that by 1 August 1989 all working personnel will receive increased pay.

Within the framework of this action, a greater increase in the pay of working people with low wages will be ensured, so that the minimum wage throughout the economy will amount to 2,000 lei, compared to 1,500 lei at this point, for an increase of 33 percent.

This increase, which was possible on the basis of the good results achieved in the economy in the first 2 and ½ years of the current 5-year plan, is the highest such pay increase of the working personnel in the years of socialist construction.

Those who will benefit from these provisions in particular are young people—a generation in the process of fully affirming itself, which is viewed by the party as the future of our nation.

This pay increment will be achieved both by increasing base pay on average by 8 percent, as well as the variable part of renumeration strictly in accordance with the requirements of firmly applying the new economic - financial mechanism.

The variable part of renumeration is to increase on an average by 2 percent by granting additional incentives for export production and increasing the quotas for setting up the profit sharing fund from the current 2.5-3 percent to 3-3.5 and from 4 percent to 4.5 percent for mining, crude oil, gas, and drilling units. At the same time, the incomes of working people will increase on the basis of length of service and piecework, and on the basis of the other supplements stipulated by legal provisions.

By applying the pay increase, all working personnel will benefit from additional incomes amounting to 5.8 billion lei this year and more than 29 billion lei in 1990, while the total remuneration fund will increase more than 5.5 times compared with 1965.

Under conditions of applying the law, the ratio between minimum and maximum pay throughout the economy will be 1 to 4.7 compared to the current 1 to 5.35 and compared to 1 to 10 as it was in 1965.

This is fresh and telling proof of the consistency with which our party is applying the principles of socialist ethics and equity.

Esteemed comrades deputies, the firm application of the policy of harmoniously blending the incomes directly derived from work with those derived from social funds constitutes an important aspect of our party's policy aimed at constantly improving the quality of life.

In keeping with the decisions of the 13th RCP Congress and national conference and with Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's guidelines and recommendations, the draft bill regarding the pension increase ensures—on the basis of the general development of the national economy—increasingly better living conditions for those who have worked a long time in various areas, and for war invalids.

I would like to emphasize that the guiding principles in this draft bill, as well as in the bill on pay increase, is a substantial increase in low pensions. The aim is to increase state social security pensions up to 3,000 lei a month, that is an average of 8 percent in a differentiated way; more than 1,350,000 people will benefit from this bill.

The minimum old age pension for full length of service will increase from 900 lei to 1,100 lei a month, that is 22 percent, while average pensions will increase from 1,873 lei to 2,000 lei a month. At the same time, the minimum old age pension for people with incomplete length of service will increase from 550 lei to 800 lei a month, that is 45 percent; thus the average pension will amount to 1,160 a month.

The pension of war invalids of up to 3,000 lei, will increase on an average by 17 percent: thus the minimum pension will be 800 lei a month.

The increase in pensions, similar to the pay increase, will take place in stages beginning with 1 August 1988; first low pensions will be increased and the process will conclude on 1 March 1989. The total funds needed for the pension increase amount to 300 million lei for 1988,

while for a whole year they total some 2 billion lei. Thus the necessary funds for the payment of pensions will increase almost nine times over in 1990 compared to 1965.

Esteemed comrades, through their content, the two draft bills constitute an important document of social policy characterized by a genuine revolutionary humanism and by the constant care for man—the supreme asset of our socialist society.

The current measures for the pay and pension increase in our country are taking place at a time when in the international arena phenomena of crisis and instability are intensifying, when in a number of countries, including the economically developed ones, unemployment is extensively increasing, particularly among the ranks of young people, and at a time when the working people's standard of living is constantly deteriorating.

The pay and pension increase demonstrates, now when we are celebrating the 40th anniversary of our country's development on the road to socialism, the vigor of the Romanian economy, the strength of our system, and the correctness of our party's strategy in general, which was formulated with clearsightedness and promoted with revolutionary consistency and determination by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu.

This extensive project of increasing the population's incomes is taking place while preserving the same rents for housing, the rights for children's state allowances, and while ensuring stability and even reducing some retail prices.

Esteemed comrades, the new measures for the increase in incomes obliges the government to act with maximum determination to commendably fulfill the 1988 plan tasks and those of the overall 5-year plan—a decisive stage in implementing the party program of building the comprehensively developed socialist society.

We will constantly focus on perfecting the organization and modernization of the production process, on completely implementing the programs for increasing labor productivity, reducing production costs, raising product quality, respecting approved economic-financial norms, and creating all necessary conditions for increasing economic efficiency to a greater extent, thus making sure—through additional programs—that all necessary funds are available for the pay increase of the working personnel.

We will continue to firmly pursue the application of remuneration according to the overall contract system that will ensure incentives for working collectives to fulfill the plan provisions under more favorable conditions, and thus an increase in incomes closely linked to results achieved.

It is necessary to work with greater determination to ensure the proper operation of our workers revolutionary democracy, so that all activities will progress unswervingly and in keeping with the principles of self-management, self-administration, and self-financing, and so that all collective leadership bodies will completely fulfill the tasks entrusted to them, and ensure the constant strengthening and development of socialist ownership and the most efficient administration of the resources entrusted to the working people's collectives by society.

Esteemed comrades, all our people, closely united around the party and its secretary general, will work with great responsibility, profound devotion, boundless patriotic self-denial, and in the spirit of the theses of exceptional theoretical and practical value included in Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's speech at the Political Executive Committee meeting, and in keeping with the guidelines and recommendations made at the working meeting with the party aktiv and basic cadres in the organizational, ideological, and political-educational area, as well as at the recent party plenum, to constantly perfect activities in all areas and to completely fulfill plan tasks in order to increase the national income, improve the material and cultural standard of living, and ensure Romania's transition to a higher stage of development.

With this conviction, would you, esteemed comrades deputies, please give power of law to the draft bills in the form in which they have been presented.

State Council Submits Report on 1 July Meeting

AU0507102088 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 2 Jul 88 p 1

[Report on the "Meeting of the State Council" of the SR of Romania, held on 1 July in Bucharest]

[Text] Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the SR of Romania, chaired a meeting of the State Council on 1 July 1988.

In their capacity as guests, deputy prime ministers of the government, ministers, other leaders of central departments, and chairmen of several commissions of the Grand National Assembly [GNA] attended the meeting.

Among the items on the agenda, the State Council examined and ratified the agreement between the Government of the SR of Romania and the Government of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania on mutually promoting and granting investments, signed on 14 March in Nouakchott. The draft decree for the ratification of the agreement was formerly examined and received a favorable response from the GNA permanent commissions and the Legislative Council.

The State Council discussed and approved the report on the implementation of the program on the activity of control in 1987 in various sectors, entrusted to the GNA standing commissions by the State Council.

Within the meeting, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the SR of Romania, recommended that the GNA standing commissions should improve their activity of examination and control and that the activity of surveying the work of the state administrative bodies and of other state bodies—entrusted to the GNA standing bodies by the State Council—should be reviewed by the commissions set up for various fields and branches of activity, led by a vice president of the State Council, who will report to the State Council on his findings and on the measures taken to ensure the observance and unflinching application of the party decisions and of the laws of the country in the whole socioeconomic life, in order to constantly strengthen order and discipline and create a spirit of great responsibility and exactingness in all fields and sectors of activity.

Further, in accordance with the agenda, the meeting examined and approved the program on the activity to be carried out by the GNA standing commissions in 1988—an activity entrusted to them by the State Council—to examine the way in which the state bodies implement the party policy and ensure the observance of the law in various fields of activity.

Then, the State Council examined the account on the activity of the Supreme Tribunal and the report on the activity carried out in 1987 by the prosecuting bodies of the SR of Romania.

Furthermore, the State Council discussed and approved the report of the commission in charge of examining the activity of notification, intimations, and requests of working people addressed to the State Council in 1987 and the report on solutions to the proposals, notifications, intimations, and requests of the working people addressed to the Council of Ministers and to the other central bodies of the state administration, in 1987.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the president of the SR of Romania, requested that the current regulations governing the way the problems included in working people's letters are examined and dealt with should be improved and the problems should be directly and thoroughly examined by the central and local speciality bodies of the state administration, the legal and prosecuting bodies, and the judiciary commissions in various units in order to avoid such situations in which the notifications were examined by those at whom the complaints were directed.

In this respect, we will improve the work of the commission—under the State Council jurisdiction—in charge of examining proposals, notifications, complaints, and requests of the working people and the activity carried out at the Council of Ministers level.

Furthermore, the State Council solved some problems of the current activity.

PEC Reports on Its 1 July Meeting

AU0507141888 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 2 Jul 88 p 1

[Report on the "Meeting of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee—Under the Chairmanship of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu" held on 1 July in Bucharest]

[Text] Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general, chaired a meeting of the Political Executive Committee [PEC] of the RCP Central Committee on 1 July 1988.

The PEC examined and approved the report on the draft decree regarding the distribution in production of the 1988 graduates of day courses of educational institutions.

In accordance with the decree, this year 27,305 graduates of higher learning institutes, 173,539 graduates of the second stage of high school, and 172,815 graduates of vocational schools—the class of 1988—will be distributed to the units subordinated to ministries and the other central and local bodies.

The PEC stressed that the distribution of graduates of high schools, and secondary and vocational schools, is being carried out in accordance with the tasks established by the 13th RCP Congress and the party National Conference and by the Congress of Science and Education, in the spirit of the recommendations and guidelines of the RCP secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, on ensuring the necessary manpower to implement the objectives of the socioeconomic development of the country in the current 5-year plan period and in the future. In this respect, account was taken of the requirement to satisfy the need for graduates in all branches of the national economy, with priority being given to mining, oil, energy, and agricultural sectors.

The PEC noted that the measures taken to distribute all graduates is more proof of the concern of our socialist party and state for ensuring an appropriate working place for all those who graduate from an educational unit, and is an expression of the superiority of our socialist system, which is outstanding compared to that of some other countries where most of the young people increase the ranks of the unemployed and have no prospect of finding a job.

The PEC and the RCP secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, expressed the belief that this new class of graduates, who are starting to work in the production flow, will devote all the professional training they acquired during their years of study to the appropriate fulfillment of this year's plan and of the 1986-90

5-Year Plan provisions, asserting themselves as trustworthy people, cadres with thorough knowledge, and worthy and devoted builders of socialism and communism on the soil of our homeland.

During the meeting, measures for generalizing the 12-grade education were discussed and Comrade Elena Ceausescu, chairman of the National Council for Science and Education, proposed that as a rule, in all communes where there are an adequate number of students, the first stage of high school should also operate, in addition to the general schools. Currently, there are 8-grade general schools in all communes, and first stage high schools in more than 2,000 communes. The PEC decided to increase the number of communes with first stage high schools, thus ensuring 10 grades of school for all children in the commune where they live or in one very near. Likewise, with a view to generalizing 12-grade education and taking into consideration that some of the children living in villages study in high schools or professional schools in the big towns or industrial centers, the PEC proposed that as a rule a few hundred second-stage high schools should operate in the new agroindustrial centers, in accordance with the number of pupils, which should include all the pupils within the range of the respective agroindustrial center. All these measures are aimed at ensuring the material base for generalizing 12-grade education.

The PEC approved all these proposals and decided that they should be included in the programs to organize and plan urban localities and establish agroindustrial centers.

During the PEC meeting, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general, proposed building in Bucharest a national cultural center called a "Song to Romania," which would represent the great constructions of our socialist era, with modern halls for opera performances, musical concerts, creative technical, artistic, and cultural activities, and for the contests and events occasioned by the national festival called the "Song to Romania."

It was mentioned that accordingly, "Song to Romania" municipality cultural centers should be established and the cultural houses in communes should become "Song to Romania" centers for cultural, artistic, and technical creativity. Likewise, all the workers clubs and culture houses will become creative "Song to Romania" cultural centers, which will carry out all their activity under the sign of the great objectives of socialist, revolutionary, and patriotic education, and will emphasize and assert the inexhaustible capacity of the many-faceted cultural, artistic, scientific, and technical creativity of our people and the conditions given by the organization of great mass competitions within the "Song to Romania" national festival initiated by RCP Secretary General Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu.

Furthermore, the RCP meeting discussed a number of international issues. In connection with the upcoming meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact member states, the PEC discussed and approved a number of proposals put forward by the RCP secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, on perfecting the organizational activity of the Warsaw Pact, proposals that will be forwarded to the next Warsaw Pact meeting.

The PEC also resolved some current problems of the party and state activity.

SDUF National Council Plenum Resolution

AU0407171088 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 30 Jun 88 p 5

["Resolution of the 28 June 1988 Plenary Meeting of the National Council of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front"]

[Text] On 28 June 1988 Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania, chaired a plenary meeting of the National Council of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front [SDUF].

1. On behalf of the mass, public, and professional organizations it represents, on behalf of almost all social and political forces in the country, the National Council of SDUF, a broadly democratic body of our socialist society, expressed total endorsement and profound gratitude for Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's brilliant speeches to the 29 April 1988 meeting of the PEC of the RCP Central Committee, to the meeting with basic cadres in the field of organizational, ideological, political, and educational work, and to various sessions of other bodies of our revolutionary workers democracy. Likewise, the plenary meeting took note of and unanimously endorsed the appraisals and conclusions of great principled and practical importance and high patriotism and communist responsibility included in Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's speeches to the RCP Central Committee plenum and the SDUF National Council plenary meeting. The SDUF National Council plenary meeting highly valued these political documents and their concepts, ideas, and evaluations and pointed out their exceptional significance for further improving the organization and management of our revolutionary process, guiding efforts toward priority targets, and implementing in an exemplary manner the historic tasks set forth by the 13th Congress and the National Conference of the RCP.

At the same time, the plenary meeting paid warm homage to Comrade Elena Ceausescu, outstanding politician and scientist of world renown, for her very important contribution to drafting and implementing the plans for the country's socioeconomic development, to introducing scientific-technical achievements into production, and to developing education, culture, and intellectual life in our country.

The plenary meeting estimated that, in the present stage, the documents discussed and the measures adopted—an integral part of the broad socioeconomic changes inaugurated by the historic Ninth RCP Congress—aim at implementing now the thesis according to which socialism is being built with the people and for the people. This thesis, which was elaborated by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, has unleashed the huge creative energy of the working people and also made a great contribution to developing the revolutionary theory and practice.

The SDUF National Council plenary meeting pledges to act in a spirit of revolutionary devotion and responsibility and patriotic upsurge to implement the tasks and guidelines included in the party secretary general's speeches, with a view to fulfilling the wonderful plans and programs for the country's socioeconomic development and raising the whole nation's standard of living and civilization.

2. The SDUF National Council plenary meeting values highly and endorses with great patriotic pride the new proposals on increasing pensions and the working personnel's remuneration in 1988 - 89, measures which reflect the strong potential of our national economy and the brilliant results obtained in all spheres of activity. The plenary meeting again expresses deep gratitude for the profoundly humanistic concern of our party leadership and of Party Secretary General Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu personally with further raising the people's material and intellectual living standard, which is the supreme goal and the essence of the new social system we are successfully building on the dear land of our fatherland.

Pointing out that the measures adopted are based on the principles of socialist ethics and equity, the plenary meeting pledged itself—on behalf of mass, public, and professional organizations and of representatives of all social classes and categories—to answer the new measures on raising incomes and the people's material and intellectual living standard by outstanding deeds and achievements in all spheres.

3. The SDUF National Council plenary meeting expressed all our nation's unanimous endorsement of the party's domestic and foreign policy and for Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's brilliant initiatives in the service of peace, understanding, and cooperation among peoples and a better and more just world on our planet.

The SDUF plenary meeting highlighted with particular satisfaction the achievements obtained by our country in the period of socialist construction, particularly in the heroic years since the Ninth RCP Congress, in expanding industry and agriculture, increasing the national income, developing education, science and culture, modernizing rural and urban localities and ensuring a new quality of life and work for our free, independent, and sovereign people, who are fashioning their own future in dignity and independence.

Highly praising our party-state international policy, which expresses the Romanian people's supreme strivings and aspirations, the SDUF National Council plenary meeting firmly supports the proposals included in the letter sent to the MSZMP, which calls for an end to hostile manifestations against Romania, to slanders against the achievements of our country's working people, and to interference in Romania's domestic affairs, and emphasizes the need for normal relations between the SR of Romania and the Hungarian People's Republic, that should characterize the relationship between the two neighboring socialist countries.

The SDUF National Council plenary meeting reiterated the determination of the broadest political body in the country to further unite all our people around the party and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the most beloved son of the nation and hero among the nation's heroes, and to take responsible steps to implement our socioeconomic development programs, to improve and modernize the entire activity, to further develop the revolutionary workers democracy, to intensify the political-educational work, and to exactly implement the guidelines of great historic perspective concerning the revolutionary process of implementing the decisions of the 13th Congress and the National Conference of the RCP on the construction of the comprehensively developed socialist society and of communism in Romania.

Hungarian Council Sends Telegram to Ceausescu

AU3006182988 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 28 Jun 88 p 1

["Under the Sign of Complete Unity of Our Whole Nation Around the Party and its Secretary General—Telegram Addressed to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP Secretary General and President of the SR of Romania, by the Romanian Working People's Council of Hungarian Nationality" adopted by the plenary meeting of the council held on 27 June in Bucharest]

[Text] Much esteemed and beloved Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu:

Greatly impressed by the speech you delivered to the working meeting with the party aktiv and basic cadres in the field of organizational, ideological, and political-educational activity of the party and inspired by the ideas and orientations set forward by you, in an atmosphere of strong patriotic and revolutionary commitment, that mobilizes all the sons of our dear homeland in their activity to implement the theses of priceless theoretical and practical value included in the masterly speech you delivered at the meeting of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee on 29 April 1988, the participants in the plenary meeting of the Romanian Working People's Council of Hungarian Nationality pay you, much esteemed and beloved Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, bold and fearless revolutionary leader, a particularly daring thinker, and prominent

personality of our times, whose activity is linked to all the achievements we obtained in this period of almost a quarter of a century, an ardent and enthusiastic homage for everything you have done and are doing for the well-being and the happiness of our whole nation and for raising Romania to the pinnacles of socialism and communism.

In complete unity of thought and feeling with all those who contribute with their work to the building of a brilliant future for our free, independent, and sovereign homeland, in these historical Romanian regions, we pay tribute to all the achievements registered in the period that was inaugurated by the Ninth RCP Congress which reflects the outstanding way in which we are implementing your revolutionary thinking, strongly based on Romanian realities and unflinchingly guided by the revolutionary theory of the workers class, of the dialectic and historic materialism and by the scientific socialism, creatively applied to the concrete conditions prevailing in our country. These years, through which the 23 million citizens of our homeland have travelled with firm steps, following your guidance and example, these years, which have moved Romania toward undreamed material and intellectual progress, will stay forever inscribed with golden letters in the awareness of the people, as a sign of the homage we pay to what we justifiably call the Nicolae Ceausescu Era.

With deepest feelings of esteem and respect, we pay tribute to the activity carried out by Comrade Academician Doctor Engineer Elena Ceausescu, outstanding politician and illustrious scientist of world renown and to the activity she has devoted to the drafting and the implementation of the plans and programs for the homeland's socioeconomic development, by promoting the latest scientific and technical discoveries in all areas in order to ensure the continuous progress and assertion in the world of Romanian science, education, and culture.

Alongside the great monuments of this glorious era—to the building of which every soul from the Danube to the Carpathians and from the Black Sea to the Western Carpathians says "Here I am"—we shape the new-type of man, characterized by a revolutionary spirit, by ardent patriotism, and by the awareness of the unity of the whole nation and of the joint efforts of all those who make up our socialist society to ensure the progress of our homeland and to raise it to the highest pinnacles of socialist civilization.

By applying consistently your thesis regarding the whole revolutionary process of the society's development, which is constantly being improved and perfected, the ideological and cultural-educational activities themselves are more thoroughly involved in the great system of shaping the revolutionary awareness of the masses and shaping people who are masters of the latest discoveries of science and of the latest discoveries in all areas, people with broad cultural education, capable of sensing the directions and requirements of the socioeconomic development and capable of consciously building their future.

Within this great activity of molding the conscience of all the sons of the homeland, with equal rights and duties, we are taking firm actions to build a society of a monolithic unity and we will resort to the life-giving springs of science and progress, not leaving room for retrograde, nationalist, chauvinistic, racist, or any other reactionary tendencies. Likewise, we will not tolerate any interference in our domestic affairs and reject with indignation any attempts to harm the unity of our socialist society.

Under the sign of this unity, we, all the categories of working people, participate—in our capacity as owners, producers, and end-users—in seeking overall solutions to the problems which concern the progress of our socialist society. We do this with all our responsibility as citizens who gained their rights to participate directly in the implementation of the domestic and foreign policy of our party and state and in the management of our whole society, in accordance with the principles of a uniform system formulated by you, regarding the workers revolutionary democracy, part and parcel of the sociopolitical thinking that you are consistently promoting.

Firmly believing that Romania's entire domestic and foreign policy serves the well-being of the people, the participants in this plenary meeting express their feelings of satisfaction and their profound gratitude for the just, greatly scientific, and humanist policy promoted consistently by our party and state and personally by you, to ensure the balanced distribution of production forces and to continue the great work of urban planning, something that is leading and will lead to the creation of equal, increasingly better working and living conditions, for all the citizens of the Socialist Romania, to the conditions in villages becoming more like those found in towns, and to a multifaceted progress and increased level of well-being, progress, and civilization for all the regions and localities of our homeland. The new pay and pension increase—measures adopted in full agreement with the decisions of the 13th RCP Congress and the party National Conference, on the basis of your recommendations and orientations, much esteemed and beloved Comrade General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu, is telling proof of the permanent care of our party and state for increasing the material and ideological well-being of all the categories of working people and for the firm application of the principles of socialist ethics and equity.

Expressing our profound gratitude for everything that has been achieved and is being achieved in our dear homeland, under your wise leadership, and following the example of your revolutionary activity, we solemnly pledge to work with a high communist and patriotic responsibility and we will spare no efforts to successfully implement the objectives established by the 13th RCP Congress and by the party National Conference, being

aware that the constant and rapid progress of our homeland and the prosperity of all the sons of Romania depends on the work of each of us.

With greatest devotion to and high appreciation of your thinking and of the struggle waged by you, outstanding personality who comprises the most noble moral and political characteristics of a communist leader, we follow your brilliant example in a complete unity around the party and we pay the greatest tribute to the more than 55 years of activity you have carried out with revolutionary devotion to the country and people and we wish you much health and working vigor, to continue to lead our party and state and to raise our homeland, the Socialist Republic of Romania, to the highest peaks of civilization and progress.

The Romanian Working People's Council of Hungarian Nationality in the SR of Romania.

German Council Sends Telegram to Ceausescu

AU3006191588 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 28 Jun 88 p 1

("Under the Sign of Complete Unity of Our Whole Nation Around the Party and Its Secretary General—Telegram Addressed to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP Secretary General and President of the SR of Romania, by the Romanian Working People's Council of German Nationality" adopted by the plenary meeting of the council held on 27 June in Bucharest]

[Text] Much beloved and esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu,

The plenary meeting of the Romanian Working People's Council of German Nationality, in a spirit of great exactingness and communist responsibility, discussed our tasks in implementing, in an exemplary way, the decisions of the 13th RCP Congress and of the party National Conference, with a view to ensuring the progress, well-being, and happiness of the whole nation and the unswerving progress of our dear homeland, the Socialist Republic of Romania, on the bright road of socialism and communism.

In a complete unity of thinking and feeling with the whole nation, the Romanian working people of German nationality fully endorse the rich contents of ideas and theses brilliantly formulated in the outstanding speech you made on 29 April and the orientations and recommendations included in the masterly report you, much beloved and esteemed Comrade Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu, presented to the working meeting with the party aktiv and the basic cadres in the field of the party's organizational, ideological, and political-educational activity, which are telling proof of the original and creative sociopolitical theory and practice and pragmatic documents of priceless theoretical and practical value for the strategic formulation and clear guidance of the ways and means to continuously improve the organization and management of the great and heroic work of building socialism and communism in Romania, with the people and for the people.

Also on this occasion, we voice our feelings of great adherence to the cause of our Communist Party and of the Romanian nation and we express our complete adherence to the entire domestic and foreign policy promoted by Romania, initiated and promoted with unflinching revolutionary consistency by you, much beloved and esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the most beloved son of our nation, outstanding builder of the modern Socialist Romania, leading personality of our times, and the great hero of peace.

Please, allow us to express again our great patriotic pride, profound respect, and our complete gratitude to you, much esteemed and beloved Comrade Secretary General, for a scientific, farsighted, and wise policy you promote with unequalled self-denial to achieve the great results of socialism, particularly in the period that followed the Ninth RCP Congress, which inaugurated the Nicolae Ceausescu Era in the multi-millenia old history of our homeland.

On behalf of the Romanian working people of German nationality, the plenary meeting expresses high and unanimous appreciation for your essential contribution to drafting all the programs and plans for the comprehensive socioeconomic development of our country, in a scientific and realist way. We also express our appreciation for the decisive role you are playing in continuously perfecting the organization and management of our socialist society, the whole socioeconomic life, and the workers revolutionary democracy, and for the role you are playing in ensuring an unprecedented development of science, culture, and education, in promoting the principles of socialist ethics and equity, and in guiding the whole political-ideological and cultural-educational activity of shaping the new-type of man, conscious and devoted builder of socialism and communism.

We assure you, much esteemed and beloved Comrade Secretary General, and we pledge that we will spare no effort to obtain new and important results in all the fields of activity, answering with important work to the recent measures taken according to your initiatives, regarding the increase of remuneration and of pensions. We consider this action as new proof of the profoundly humanist nature of the policy promoted by our party and state and of your constant preoccupation and care to unflinchingly implement the party policy, which focuses on the individual, on the material and cultural well-being of all the sons of our homeland.

The participants in the plenary meeting express the feelings and unswerving will of the Romanian people of German nationality and voice, also on this occasion, their profound gratitude for the principled and consistent way in which you, much beloved and esteemed

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, personally watch for the complete implementation of the real equality of rights for all the citizens of our homeland, with a view to successfully building—on the soil of our homeland—the most just and humane system—socialism and communism.

With great respect, the participants in the plenary meeting pay a warm homage to Comrade Elena Ceausescu, outstanding politician and scientist of world renown, for her important and greatly competent contribution to working out and implementing all the programs for the homeland's development, to making use of the latest discoveries of modern technology in the production process, and to ensuring the continuous progress of Romanian science, education, and culture.

Our whole nation is profoundly grateful to you, much beloved and esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, for the true scientific and humanist policy you promote with unflinching consistency in order to ensure the harmonious and balanced distribution of production forces throughout the country, to continuously expand the democratic character of our socialist system, to ensure the complete assertion of full equality of rights for all the citizens, and to ensure the best conditions for the unhampered participation of all the sons of the homeland in the social, economic, political, and cultural life of Romania.

We vehemently reject the hostile propaganda of some reactionary, nationalistic, and irredentist circles abroad, who, while actually hiding the serious socioeconomic problems confronting their own countries, search for ways to slander the great achievements of socialism and of our people and the just nationality policy of our party and of our socialist state, and sow hatred and discord among working people and among nations.

We firmly support the foreign policy of peace and international cooperation consistently promoted by our party and state and the policy of promoting consistently and ardently the principles of complete equality of rights among nations, respect for independence and national sovereignty, noninterference in domestic affairs, mutual advantage, nonrecourse to the threat and the use of force, and the ensurance of the right of each people to develop freely, as it desires; these are principles that are completely in accordance with the interests of the whole nation and with its aspirations for well-being and happiness.

On behalf of the Romanian citizens of German nationality, we assure you and we pledge to you that we will work ceaselessly, in strong unity with all the working people in our country, to firmly implement the decisions of the 13th RCP Congress and of the party National Conference and the wonderful program of building the comprehensively developed socialist society and ensuring Romania's progress toward communism; we will work with all our power, self-denial, and devotion to cultivate feelings of boundless love for our homeland, party, and people, and to continuously raise Romania to the highest peaks of socialist and communist civilization, as you, much esteemed and beloved Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu ask us to work. The Romanian Working People's Council of German nationality in the Socialist Republic of Romania

U.S. Envoy Handed Note on Gulf Plane Dead

LD0707115788 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1124 GMT 7 Jul 88

[Text] Belgrade, July 7 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav foreign secretary aide Drago Mirosic lodged a note with the U.S. ambassador in Belgrade, John Scanlan expressing dissatisfaction and resentment over the downing of a passenger plane in the Gulf.

Six Yugoslavs were killed in the plane.

Mirosic underscored expectation that the rights and interests of the families of the dead Yugoslav citizens would be completely taken care of.

Suvar Sends Condolences to Airbus Families

LD0607150388 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0937 GMT 6 Jul 88

[Text] Belgrade, 6 Jul (TANJUG)—In connection with the serious aviation tragedy in Iran in which six workers of the Ivan Milutinovic work organization lost their lives, Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium conveyed condolences on behalf of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and on his own behalf, to the families of the victims and to their work collective.

Further on Protest of Borovo Factory Workers

Talks Produce No Result

LD0607135088 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1116 GMT 6 Jul 88

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 6 Jul (TANJUG)—Talks between representatives of the Yugoslav Trade Union Federation, the SFRY Assembly, the FEC, and the Croatian Assembly and about 1,700 Borovo workers who arrived in Belgrade last night in buses, have not produced results.

Following several hours of discussion, in which very sharp and bitter words were spoken, the workers left and went to the SFRY Assembly because they did not receive satisfactory answers to their demands, which they also made yesterday in Vukovar when the strike began. [passage omitted]

Zvonimir Hrabar, member of the Yugoslav Trade Union Federation Council Presidium, spoke to them and said that a way out of this situation is being collectively sought in the federation, in the Republic of Croatia, and in their own municipality.

Both we and you bear responsibility for all that is happening, Hrabar said.

Replying to the specific demands of the Borovo workers, Ivan Kovac said foreign currency has been provided to obtain semimanufactures, which means that production is assured. The question of distribution of wages according to work, and other similar issues, should be resolved in the collective. It has been worthwhile, he added, to discuss here expenditure for self-managing communities of interests.

A specialist team from the federation will visit Borovo very soon. It will work on the realization of these stands, Hrabar added. He went on to say that an increase of 100 percent in personal incomes can only be ensured on the basis of production. At these words whistles rang out around the Great Hall of the Trade Union Center from the workers.

A woman worker, Katica Borota, from the shoe factory, immediately came on to the platform and said that the workers will not give up their demands. She asked why FEC member Nenad Krekic, who was head of the combine for years, had not come.

Ilija Simic said the government is permitting prices to rise but not wages.

Organize work for us, let us work and earn, said Sasic. Where is the LC today, where are our [LC—FBIS] secretaries, he asked, and got applause from his colleagues.

Applause resounded around the hall too when Hrabar read a telegram which had arrived from the composite organization of associated labor in which the workers who had remained in Borovo supported their colleagues and called on them to persevere in their demands. There was also resounding applause when the proposal was again made that everyone should visit the Josip Broz Tito memorial center.

The talks in the trade union center were often interrupted by the song "Comrade Tito, we give our pledge to you" and by shouts of "We belong to Tito; Tito belongs to us".

After several workers had sharply criticized FEC member and former director of Borovo Nenad Krekic, who they said bore great responsibility for the situation in the collective, Hrabar said that the Yugoslav Trade Union Federation will initiate the question of establishing his responsibility.

At the end of the talks in the trade union center, after one of the workers judged that they had not got what they had come to Belgrade for, he proposed that they should make their way to the Sfry Assembly to put their problems and demands to representatives of the highest delegate body in the country. At the head of the column of workers which came out of the building were workers carrying Tito's picture, and state and party flags.

3,000 More Now in Belgrade

LD0607071388 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1210 GMT 6 Jul 88

[Text] Belgrade, 6 Jul (TANJUG)—Just before 1300, the workers of Borovo who arrived in Belgrade early this morning were joined in front of the Yugoslav Assembly by about another 3,000 of their colleagues from Vukovar. Followed by a police guard and carrying party and state flags, they arrived in 29 trucks and 4 buses. With them are five directors of work organizations and a member of the management board.

They were received with tumultuous applause and chants of "Borovo, Borovo" and "We belong to Tito; Tito belongs to us."

It is estimated that over 5,000 workers are standing in front of the Assembly building in the sun. They expect their remaining colleagues from Borovo to arrive too by the end of the day. Some 23,000 workers are employed at the combine which works in the rubber, metal, and footwear branches of industry.

The gathered crowd is still waiting for a federal official to address them.

Workers Enter SFRY Assembly

LD0607135888 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1304 GMT 6 Jul 88

[Text] Belgrade, 6 Jul (TANJUG)—After 5 and ½ hours of waiting in front of the SFRY Assembly, the workers of Borovo have entered the Assembly building. Members of the security services tried to stop them from doing this but they did not succeed.

Completely filling the Assembly hall, the workers are shouting, "We belong to Tito; Tito belongs to us".

Workers Leave Assembly Hall

LD0607142888 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1352 GMT 6 Jul 88

[Text] Belgrade, 6 July (TANJUG)—Some 1,500 workers from Borovo left the central hall of the SFRY Assembly at about 1445. They entered the hall half an hour earlier after waiting for almost 6 hours in front of the Assembly.

They decided to return to the Assembly steps, where a significantly greater number of comrades had remained in the boiling July sunshine, after SFRY Assembly President Dusan Popovski said he would come out to talk with them.

Croatian Leader Talks to Workers

LD0607152488 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1447 GMT 6 Jul 88

[Text] Belgrade, 6 Jul (TANJUG)—The Borovo workers gathered outside the SFRY Assembly were addressed this afternoon by Ivo Latin, president of the SR of Croatia Presidency, who stressed that the Republic's leadership is aware of the situation in the Borovo composite organization of associated labor and that for some time they have been seeking solutions to the workers' problems.

A program of recovery has been drawn up and is to be discussed by the Croatian Assembly on 20 July. It would be more sensible and more dignified if we talk about the solutions in the factory tomorrow or the day after, Latin said. Efforts by all of Borovo's organizations of associated labor and by all relevant organs in the republic and the federation are needed to overcome the situation.

Latin's speech was met by the workers' constant insistence on wage increases. He asked them to listen to him but was booed and whistled down. This is not an arena, Latin retorted, but he was prevented by the workers in his attempt to end his speech.

Workers Demand Mikulic, Krekic

LD0607161988 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1528 GMT 6 Jul 88

[Text] Belgrade, 6 Jul (TANJUG)—Several thousand Borovo workers, who have been gathered in front of the SFRY Assembly since the early hours of this morning, are demanding to speak to Branko Mikulic and Nenad Krekic. Until this happens, they say, they do not intend to leave Belgrade.

The workers left their position in front of the Assembly at about 1510 (1310 GMT) in order to have lunch, announcing that they will gather again in 1 hour at the same place or in front of the trade union building.

They are rejecting the proposal that talks should be held on the premises of the Vukovar combine production halls, not even with Mikulic who expressed readiness to go to Borovo in a few days.

One of the workers warned that the authorized people either did not know the solution or refused to see it, but that the workers know it. It is first and foremost necessary to rationalize expenditure in the federation, republics, and municipalities.

Having interrupted the speech of Ivo Latin, president of the Croat Presidency, who proposed that talks should be held on the spot, on the Borovo premises with officials from the federation, republic, and municipality, about the way out of the crisis facing the combine, workers were addressed by Marjan Orozen, president of the Yugoslav Trade Union Federation Council.

I understand your anger because the agony of this collective has been going on for a long time, said Orozen, stressing that "we must look for all those who are responsible for this."

These words were accompanied by applause and approval, as well as the entire speech of Orozen who promised that the trade union would do its best in order to solve the problems of Borovo in the shortest possible time. The workers then carried him on their hands.

Dusan Popovski, president of the Assembly, briefed the workers on consultations with Raif Dizdarevic, Stipe Suvar, Milos Milosavljevic, and others. A unanimous view was expressed that the solution to the problem was possible in a direct dialogue for which reason Mikulic was ready to visit Borovo in a few days.

I know to what extent you abide by promises and dislike a lack of concrete replies, but this is the only thing I can say to you at this moment because I cannot promise something that I cannot deliver, said Popovski.

Radio on Workers' Protest

AU0607180988 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 6 Jul 88

[Text] Several thousand workers from the Borovo complex in Vukovar arrived in Belgrade today in two stages. They demanded that the problems that have amassed in the collective be solved as soon as possible. The collective has 25,000 employees, and they are mainly dissatisfied with their low personal incomes, which amount to 20 million old dinars on average.

This morning at 0330, immediately after a meeting in Vukovar, 1,600 workers arrived in Belgrade. They were received in the Trade Union building by Zvonimir Hrabar, member of the trade union federation presidium; Spasoje Medenica, vice president of the Yugoslav Assembly; and Ivan Kovac, vice president of the Croatian Assembly executive council. Here is a report by Olivija Rusovac:

After talks in the trade union building and despite certain suggestions to improve the situation in Borovo, the workers, dissatisfied that they were not offered an increase in personal incomes, arrived in front of the SFRY Assembly building at about 0900. Talks between the workers' delegation and senior Assembly, federal and Croatian republican officials began at about 1400 but were interrupted by the sudden entry of a great number of discontent and impatient workers in the Assembly hall. After they were promised that Dusan Popovski, Assembly president, would talk to them, the workers left the Assembly building and were addressed in front of the building first by Dusan Popovski, who said that ways would be found to get the collective onto a better path, and then by Ivo Latin, president of the Croatian Presidency.

Frequently interrupted by shouts of dissatisfaction, Latin tried to persuade the workers that it would be best for them to continue their talks in Borovo. The workers rejected this and demanded that Branko Mikulic and Nenad Krekic, the former director of the complex and the present federal secretary for economic relations with foreign countries, come to the Assembly. The workers made numerous comments at the expense of their critics.

Negotiations between the workers delegation and senior officials continued after 1600, and the workers went off to eat the food that they had brought with them in the Trade Union Hall. In order to stop the agony in Borovo, which manifested itself during last year's strike, the workers were informed this morning that the giving of a guarantee of DM1 million had been assured for the import of production materials for the shoe factory and that a guarantee of $2 million would be given tomorrow for the import of raw material for the rubber factory.

The workers' requests were partly met: Personal incomes for June and a subsidy will be paid in full, but the demand for a 100 percent pay increase could not be accepted.

In an interview with Ivo Latin by reporter Radovan Brankov, we will hear how the president of the Croatian Presidency sees these events.

[Begin Latin recording] [Words indistinct] It must be done with understanding, it must be done with some sort of confidence, and with respect for facts, and there is no man, no individual, no official who is in a position [words indistinct]. Well, we must agree on how to sit down and what to discuss so that tomorrow they will actually not only have their 100 percent, but even 200 and 300 percent (?increases). If this cannot be resolved in this ambience, in this atmosphere [words indistinct].

Therefore, we must find an agreement so that these people will not be suffering here. I feel sorry for these people who lost a whole night, and who are gathered here thirsty and hungry. [end recording]

The Borovo workers gathered again at the great Trade Union Hall at 1730. The workers were told that their delegation in the meanwhile obtained promises from federal representatives of aid to implement their rescue program. The workers expressed their dissatisfaction saying that they have had such promises before.

The workers have been coming to the rostrum and presenting and repeating their demands, among which the basic requests are that supply of production materials should be ensured 100 percent; second, that their personal incomes should increase by 100 percent; and that a subsidy be paid to them.

This meeting, which they call a working productive meeting of all those employed in Borovo, is also attended by Marjan Orozen and Zvonimir Hrabar.

At the workers' request, Nenad Krekic, member of the federal government, and Milos Milosavljevic, FEC vice president, also arrived in the Trade Union Hall. Talks are under way at present, and Krekic and Milosavljevic are explaining to the workers the causes that have landed their collective in a difficult situation.

Orozen Addresses Workers

LD0607181288 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1709 GMT 6 Jul 88

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 6 Jul (TANJUG)—At the start of his talks with the workers from Borovo in the great hall of the trade union club in Belgrade, Marijan Orozen stressed that Borovo is too large and important a collective to be closed or allowed to "vegetate." I am convinced that a solution will be found by the Croat Assembly and the federal organs, he stressed.

Nikola Drakulic, member of the Borovo Management Board, informed the workers that in the meantime firm promises had been made that the Federal Executive Council will very swiftly tackle all the tasks allotted to it by the recovery program. This means that from 1 August complete production will be resumed with 100 percent capacity. There is also a possibility of increasing personal incomes in the same month, Drakulic said. He did not however say how big the increase would be. An increase in production, not just for a month but permanently, is a prerequisite for our existence and for resolving all the problems, Drakulic said. He was followed by a number of workers who said that they did not know anything about the recovery program and who reiterated their previous demands. [passage omitted]

At about 1800, Nenad Krecic, federal secretary for foreign economic relations and, until 2 years ago, director of the Borovo composite organization of associated labor, entered the great hall. This morning some of the workers maintained that Krecic was responsible for the problems of Borovo and therefore asked to speak to him.

100 Percent Raise 'Not Possible'

LD0607181988 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1739 GMT 6 Jul 88

[Text] Belgrade, 6 Jul (TANJUG)—"Borovo" has good prospects and in 1 year, under certain provisions, it can again become the old Borovo, Nenad Krekic said this evening in addressing Borovo workers in the crowded great hall of the trade union club.

He said that at this moment, however, it was not possible to increase wages by 100 percent. The workers maintain they will not leave Belgrade until this demand is met.

Nenad Krekic, member of the FEC, met the workers this evening following their request for his presence and their insistence that he was responsible for the crisis in Borovo, which he headed 2 years ago.

Insisting that he was not the one to blame, Krekic explained in detail Borovo's financial operations and situation over the last 3 years. He also gave his view of the way for recovery in Borovo. According to Krekic, the main prerequisite is to embark on an intensive type of production, which, he says, is possible.

I am prepared, Krekic said, to work every Saturday and Sunday with those members of Borovo management, whom you trust, and I can guarantee that in 1 year Borovo will again be a respectable collective.

Krekic warned the workers that some of their demands, if fulfilled, would mean deviation from the economic reform on which Yugoslavia has embarked and that to abandon the reform would worsen our prospects.

Workers Demand Written Guarantee

LD0607211488 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1909 GMT 6 Jul 88

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 6 Jul (TANJUG)—Partial satisfaction at Nenad Krekic's appearance before the workers in the trade union club did not last long. His statement that no one in Yugoslavia today can promise Borovo workers a 100-percent increase in personal income caused a storm of protest, whistling, and remorse. Krekic said that an agreement has been reached to reduce contributions from gross income but the workers nevertheless insisted that they be told by how much their wages would increase, and they made the answer to this question a condition for their departure from Belgrade.

At the same time, applause met a message sent from the rostrum by a young worker:

"We are prepared to work 2, even 3, months without pay but only if our prospects and a safer future are guaranteed."

A number of questions put to Nenad Krekic referred to his personal responsibility for the situation in Borovo. Asked why he left the firm when it started to sink, Krekic repeated figures indicating Borovo's successful performance in 1985. [passage omitted: more figures]

A sharp exchange of words took place between Krekic and worker Gabro Petrusic, who accused the former director of creating demagogic illusions in an attempt to appease the workers. [passage omitted: Petrusic explains mistakes Krekic committed while in Kosovo.]

Rejecting these accusations as unfounded, Krekic reiterated that there is a way out for this industrial giant.

In an attempt to find a solution and bring the talks to an end, Marija Todorovic, member of the Presidium of the Council of the Yugoslav Trade Union Federation, suggested that Nenad Krekic should leave for Vukovar this evening together with the workers and stay there until it is confirmed that the proposed solutions can be implemented.

The workers rejected this proposal. Their message was that they will not leave until they receive a written guarantee that their demands will be met.

Strike Talks Continue

AU0607204088 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 6 Jul

[Text] Talks between the Borovo workers and representatives of the trade unions, the FEC, and the Yugoslav Assembly are continuing in the great hall of the Yugoslav trade union hall. The workers have not accepted the proposal of the working group that their lowest personal incomes be increased to the level of the guaranteed personal incomes in Croatia, which amounts to about 19 million old dinars.

It has been suggested that a special working group be set up which would work on the implementation of the rescue program in Borovo. The workers do not accept this suggestion, but keep to their own earlier demands that their personal incomes be increased by 100 percent and that supplies of production materials be guaranteed 100 percent.

The talks are continuing.

Workers Discuss Pay Offer

LD0607231088 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2123 GMT 6 Jul 88

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 6 Jul (TANJUG)—After [Federal Secretary for Foreign Economic Relations] Krekic's address to the Borovo workers, several of them took the floor. Various comments were heard, ranging from blaming Krekic for Borovo's problems to praising him. The same happened with reactions of the workers in the grand hall. Whistling and applause were heard in succession. This was interrupted by comments that the primary reason for the arrival in Belgrade was to effect an increase in personal incomes. For this reason a number of representatives of Borovo workers and federal and republican officials withdrew to produce a proposal to resolve this problem.

The consultations resulted in the offer of payment of a guaranteed personal income, which in Croatia is somewhat above 19 million old dinars, to those whose income is below this sum. [passage omitted: A new program will be submitted to the workers in August on personal incomes, and Krekic is to take part in preparation of the program.]

Marjan Orozen promised that each one of the seven officials, who should take on the responsibilities, would withdraw from their functions if the responsibilities were not fulfilled.

After a 30-minute discussion in which a number of workers took the floor it looked as if the proposal was going to be adopted, but the situation changed when one of the workers recalled that they were there to demand a 100 percent increase, otherwise they would not return to Vukovar.

The Borovo workers were still speaking at the trade union club after 2200.

At 0015, after 21 hours in the Yugoslav trade union building and outside the SFRY Assembly, the Borovo workers from Vukovar ended talks intended to solve the difficult situation in which the collective has found itself.

The conclusion reached was to accept, after all, the proposal for a recovery program to be drawn up by 1 August by a group of seven officials from the federation and the Socialist Republic of Croatia. If the job is not done properly and on time, Borovo workers agreed that they would to come to Belgrade again.

Zvonimir Hrabar once again explained in detail the proposals concerning the workers' future personal incomes. Hrabar's explanations were met by applause as were the workers who followed him and who called for a 100 percent wage increase. Applause and booing went on right up to midnight when the workers decided to wait another 24 days to see what the new program has to offer.

Borovo Workers Return Home

AU0707071588 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0200 GMT 7 Jul 88

[Text] The talks of the Borovo combine workers with the representatives of the trade unions, the FEC, and the SFRY Assembly concluded at the great trade union hall in Belgrade at about 15 minutes after midnight. Immediately afterwards, the Borovo workers departed for Vukovar.

They did not accept the proposals of a working group to have the lowest personal incomes increased and made equal to the guaranteed incomes in Croatia, which are 190,000 dinars. It was proposed that a special working group for the implementation of the Borovo rescue program be set up. At meetings of working people on 1 and 2 August this year, those employed in Borovo will decide on a program for an overall consolidation of the combine.

BORBA Blames Officials for Inaction

LD0607210188 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1915 GMT 6 Jul 88

[Text] Belgrade, 6 Jul (TANJUG)—Under the title "Bread for Today and Tomorrow" BORBA stresses in tomorrow's issue that processions of rebels will grow if stories about reforms, initiatives, agreements, and unity continue to be merely empty words from speaker's platforms.

"The workers have opened the doors of the parliament once again, this time almost by force. They waited on the almost black stairs nearly 6 hours, putting up with the temperature of 40 degrees centigrade.... The great Borovo, once a symbol of our industry, is on its knees. The workers, over 25,000 of them, have buried their hopes in the chains of unproductivity, debts, quarrels, and lack of prospects. Why did they come to Belgrade by bus and trucks? Is the federation not taken apart, crippled, robbed?" writes BORBA in its front-page commentary. Among other things, it recalls the case of Zmaj when money was found for projects and wages. It asks whether this would happen with Borovo and notes:

"There are certainly no reforms without strikes and without dismissals. But we cannot get to them with politicians who run away from the working class, leaders who cannot select a way out, committees which draw theses in cabinets, bureaucracy which settles all matters in accordance with its own logic and conscience...."

Workers at Pilana Sawmill End Strike

LD0707131088 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1042 GMT 7 Jul 88

[Text] Bugojno, 7 Jul (TANJUG)—About 850 workers of Pilana sawmill, and 450 from Stolarija joinery basic organizations of associated labor, which operate as parts of Sipad-Janj work organization, today resumed work following a several-day work stoppage. At an extraordinary meeting they were promised a 15 percent increase in June wages, as well as a vacation bonus, to be paid by 31 July.

A new commission was formed at the meeting with the task of reassessing jobs and production tasks.

Vartilen Workers Hold Protest Meeting

LD0507125888 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1057 GMT 5 Jul 88

[Text] Varazdin, 5 Jul (TANJUG)—Workers at the Vartilen polyester fiber factory, which found itself in a difficult situation after the promissory note affair, arrived today in a procession, carrying party and state flags and a picture of Comrade Tito, in front of the Town (?Hall) in Varazdin to protest at their problems not being solved. The whole of the municipal leadership, led by Municipal Assembly President Zdravko Corko, welcomed them in front of the Town Hall, while about 500 workers were led by Milovoj Jerec, chairman of the trade union branch.

Accompanied by occasional shouts, such as: "We want bread and work"; "We are looking for the guilty ones"; and suchlike, workers pointed out their difficulties and requested that urgent steps be taken to resolve the problems of Vartilen. In their talks with the municipal leadership, they asked who is responsible for the fact that since as far back as September of last year, an economic recovery programme for Vartilen has not been carried out, even though this should have been done in accordance with the conclusions of all sociopolitical organizations. This is a reference to economic recovery and the covering of losses amounting to 30 billion dinars, which would be covered by the Economic Bank of Zagreb, accompanied by a Municipal Assembly guarantee for one third of this amount.

The question also was raised as to who is the competent authority responsible for the social security of the workers, who for months now have not been receiving a personal income, and for the fact that the factory is not working, although its products are certainly sought after. Finally, it was intimated that the Vatilen workers would go off to Zagreb tomorrow in order to explain their problems to the Croatian Assembly President Zdravko Corko would go with them.

After the meeting, the workers, again in a procession and without any incident, set off for the factory 3 km away.

Hold Talks at Croatian Assembly

LD0607110188 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0851 GMT 6 Jul 88

[Text] Zagreb, 6 Jul (TANJUG)—More than 300 workers and members of the management board of the Vartilen enterprise from Varazdin and representatives of the municipality of Varazdin arrived this morning at the Assembly of the SR of Croatia. In the large hall of the Assembly they held talks with Stipe Tojcic, president of the republican Committee for Industry and Mining, officials of the Zagreb Economic bank, the republican economic chamber, and the trade unions.

On behalf of the 550 employees at Vartilen a total of 11 questions and demands were raised in the hall. Among these was the demand for the sociopolitical community to seek an urgent program of recovery for the collective and to end the agony which has lasted more than 10 months. The Vartilen workers ask why profitable production has come to a halt and why the financial rehabilitation of the collective is being delayed. They are calling for an answer to the question of who will assume responsibility if the collective goes into receivership and

are warning that the agony which has lasted several months has meant loss of confidence among domestic and foreign buyers and is causing specialist cadres to leave.

According to a representative of the Zagreb Economic Bank everything is ready for the financial rehabilitation of last year's losses, estimated at 36.6 billion dinars. The bank, however, for its part, is seeking a corresponding quarantee from the Varazdin Municipal Assembly and from all the region's industry that the rehabilitation measures will actually be implemented, and that all efforts will be made for the Vartilen collective to be put back on its feet as soon as possible. Such a guarantee, however, has not yet been received from Varazdin by Zagreb Economic Bank.

The Vartilen workers arrived by train in Zagreb just after 0900. In a peaceful procession in which they carried Yugoslav, Croatian and party flags, a picture of Comrade Tito, and a large yellow banner bearing the name of their factory, they made their way through the streets in the city center from the main train station, through Zrinjevac and Republic Square to the Assembly building in the upper town, where they arrived just after 1000.

Maribor Automobile Workers Go on Strike
AU0107190288 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene
22 Jun 88 p 1

[Joze Jerman report: "TAM Workers Protest"]

[Text] Maribor, 21 Jun—This morning over 3,000 workers of TAM [Tovarna Avtomobilov Maribor—Maribor Automobile Plant] marched in a column first toward Tezenska Street, and then toward the city assembly. At Freedom Square, at about 1200, they were joined by some 400 workers from Primat, who do not see any future for themselves because of constant losses and incapable management. At a meeting, they demanded a 50-percent increase in their personal incomes.

The TAM workers council will meet today, but a member of its managing board said in the morning that neither TAM nor the city of Maribor possess the 3.5 billion dinars that would have to be collected if personal incomes were to increase 50 percent. The workers who marched back to TAM decided that they will hear a report on the workers council session tomorrow at 0600 in the morning. Unless their demands are met, they will continue their strike at Freedom Square.

Losses in TAM amounted to 15 billion dinars at the end of last year, but they were somehow covered; 33 billion dinars were budgeted for personal incomes last year, but an additional billion was paid out. Mihael Gole, member of the managing board, drew attention to the fact that personal incomes in TAM were increased and not reduced. "We had great problems in TAM only yesterday, trying to find money for personal incomes, for all financial and money flows have been interrupted, customers owe us 11 billion dinars, and we have many outstanding commitments ourselves, but we would somehow manage for 3 months if we got the money owed to us," Gole said.

At the meeting today, which at times was extremely explosive, but was dignified throughout, miller Joze Lisjak said that politics should stop interfering in the economy and that personal incomes should not be limited, for workers want to distribute only what they have earned. "We want honest pay for honest work," he said. Valter Nahtigal waved a paper in his hand to prove that a cleaning woman at the local community earns 20,000 dinars [a month] more than he does, and he added that personal incomes are higher in many places that are under receivership than in TAM.

This month no personal income was below 250,000 dinars in TAM, and the latest average was 460,000 dinars.

At a trade union branch meeting a few days ago, workers demanded a 40-percent pay increase (the demands have risen now), but they were told even then that this money simply does not exist.

At the meeting today, many wondered how it was possible for FAP [automobile plant of Priboj, Serbia] to sell its buses to Saudi Arabia at a price for which TAM cannot even make the chassis and the motor alone. They wanted to know who pays the difference to FAP workers, so that they are able to work so cheaply.

Along with all the reproaches addressed to the federal government, reproaches that there are too many communes in Maribor and that they "gorge" money, and reproaches about excessive communal and factory bureaucracy, the workers did not forget their own shortcomings, poor work, leaving work early, and the like. They drew attention to the fact that stocks are a great problem, and that all those who are to blame should be called to account.

"TAM is blocked, as of yesterday," the head of TAM financial services said. They owe 9 billion dinars to suppliers, and 3 billion more for various contributions. "If we wanted to increase pay," Hinko Podgorsek said, "we would have to sell 150 of the most expensive vehicles at this moment, without incurring a dinar's expense, and this is not possible. Maribor also has no money to give away."

Ivan Cuk, president of the city Executive Council, tried to explain the difficult economic situation to the strikers, but he had little success.

Maribor Strike Continues

AU0207170288 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 23 Jun 88 p 1

[Joze Jerman report: "Dissatisfaction Grows"]

[Text] Maribor, 22 Jun—TAM [Tovarna Automobilov Maribor—Maribor Automobile Plant] workers did not want to resume work today, because they were dissatisfied with the conclusions of the extraordinary session of the workers council and the strike committee last night. The session noted that nobody can provide a 50-percent pay increase. The workers with lowest incomes can only get the difference until the end of June, which together with the personal income means 320,000 dinars.

Although 10,000 leaflets with all the conclusions were distributed among the workers this morning, more than 4,000 workers marched in a column though Maribor streets to Freedom Square where they held a meeting. Shortly before noon a large group of workers went to the Maribor railroad station to travel by train for talks with republican Executive Council representatives. The majority of the workers waited at Freedom Square for the Executive Council representatives.

The TAM strikers today did not want to recognize the strike committee elected yesterday, and did not want to set up a group that could talk in peace with Maribor and Slovene leadership. When 1,000 women workers of the Melje Work Organization, which is part of the Maribor Textile Plant, joined them, they began to shout that the Maribor Textile Plant needs a new management and a new director, because the old management is no longer trusted. A Metalna plant delegation also came to Freedom Square and read aloud the conclusions of an extraordinary session of the work organization committee. The Metalna workers did not want to join the meeting, but they demanded that the government reduce the economy's burden of taxation, and slash the budgets at all levels from the commune up to the federation; they also demanded a reorganization of the interest communities, reformation of Maribor communes, and greater stability of legislation.

The gathered workers demanded that the economy be led by businessmen. They said that TAM began declining when Perhavec, a capable businessman, retired and was replaced by politician Mirko Zlender. It got even worse when politician Vitja Rode took his place. Scandals in TAM have followed each other since then.

The delegation of the Slovene Executive Council, which included Janez Bohoric, vice president of the Executive Council; Miha Ravnik, president of the Slovene Trade Unions; and others, did not succeed in pacifying the workers. Janez Bohoric said: "We will not solve any problems in this way. Inflation must be mastered, and if we now increase pay, we will be where we started, and we will rush into an even greater inflation. Nobody but you yourselves can assure higher pay.

"We did not come to Maribor with a suitcase full of money, because we do not have it. We have come to see whether we can help. Five years ago, 60 percent of TAM assets were its own, and now only 19 percent are. We are trying to obtain international loans and money from a consortium of Slovene banks. I know it is difficult to bear the price increases while the pay stays the same, but this is the price we must pay for containing inflation. We must modernize the plant, so that we will be able to make better products and sell them better, but modernization will cost as much as 300 billion dinars. We will get out of the crisis only through good work," Janez Bohoric said.

The workers at the Brake Plant in Ptuj, a TAM Basic Organization of Associated Labor, also stopped work today in solidarity with Maribor workers.

Strike Almost Causes 'Serious Incident'

AU0307172088 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 24 Jun 88 p 1

[Joze Jerman report: "Strike Does Not Abate"]

[Text] Maribor, 23 Jun—Two statements again raised the tempers of several thousand Maribor workers today. Three thousand workers of Elektrokovina were driven to Freedom Square today by a statement which Anton Simonic, president of the Trade Union Conference of Elektrokovina, was not allowed to read in full yesterday, although he managed to read the part saying that Elektrokovina workers do not support the workers of TAM [Tovarna Avtomobilov Maribor—Maribor Automobile Plant]. Ivan Cuk, president of the City Executive Council, said on the radio that only 600 TAM workers had marched toward the city and that others had resumed work, but at that moment more than 1,500 workers were gathered at the TAM gate and did not want to start work.

"TAM workers, it is not our fault that we did not join you yesterday." This is how the Elektrokovina workers began their protest meeting. They demanded that Anton Simonic resign immediately and should publicly apologize to the TAM workers. Jelka Mulec, president of the Motorska Work Organization Trade Union branch, read a protest letter containing the demands by Elektrokovina workers, particularly a demand for a 50-percent pay increase. "We are prepared to roll up our sleeves and to tighten our belts," she said, "but we want to keep our hard earned money. We cannot agree with government decisions which impose even greater burdens on the economy. We are fed up with politickers and incapable people leading us who move from one cushy job to another.

The demands of more than 1,000 women workers of the Merinka plant were similar. They demanded a 50-percent increase of their personal incomes and the abolition of unrealistic work norms. Capable people should get into leading posts, and Director General Slobodan Suica should resign, they said in their letter. "We demand the abolition of the contribution for the underdeveloped, for

they only exploit it. Politicians should not interfere in the economy." After stormy protests they demanded that the federal government should resign and that the burden of the present grave moment should be equally shared by all.

Shortly before 0900, the several thousand workers were joined by another group from TAM and Elektrokovina. They demanded that all the Trade Union aktivists who spoke on the workers' behalf without asking for their opinion should be dismissed from their posts. Elektrokovina workers also demanded the resignation of all the leading people who are colorless and inefficient, and the resignation of some members of the managing board.

Shortly after 1200, the first serious incident almost occurred. Indignant because nobody appeared today from the city assembly, a group of workers marched to the building of the Maribor City Assembly and found all the doors locked there. Ivan Cuk, president of the City Executive Council, addressed them from a Civil Defense van, but workers would not listen to him. A small group of hotheads began to rock the van. The driver had to reverse rapidly, because the van could have been pushed over. Franci Pivec, secretary of the Maribor party organization, and three older TAM workers who had tried to calm down the strikers were also in the vehicle.

At about 1200, a group of 400 workers from Metalna plant marched into the square to show their solidarity with other workers. A group of 1,500 workers were still on strike at the TAM gate.

About 1300, the group in Freedom Square marched to some other work organizations and called workers to a joint protest meeting. The gate was locked at Lilet, whereupon some jumped over the fence, pushed the guard away, and opened the gate. Lilet workers nevetheless did not want to join them. The group also talked to workers of Zlatorog, but also had no success. We have learned that work was almost normal at TAM after 1200. Over 60 percent of workers returned to work.

A group of about 50 workers went from the protest meeting at Freedom Square to Melje and broken into the premises of Metal Furniture Basic Organization of Associated Labor, which is a part of Primat. They demanded that the workers join them again in Freedom Square. Attempts at persuasion tried 1 and ½ hours, while the machines were standing still. Primat workers insisted on their decision to stay at work while waiting for answers to the questions they posed yesterday at the protest meeting. We have learned that about 60 percent of the TAM workers were at work in the afternoon.

Strike Discussed by City Assembly

AU0307180388 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 28 Jun 88 p 2

[Joze Jerman and Marjan Kos report: "The Strikes Are a Warning That Maribor Must Change]

[Text] Maribor, 27 Jun—The first extraordinary session of the Associated Labor Chamber of the Maribor City Assembly, which was convened because of the days-long greatest social unrest in Maribor since the war, did not answer all the workers questions. Nevertheless, in its decisions and in the extensive discussion that preceded them, the chamber noted that the majority of the workers demands were justified and that all who are to blame will have to take the consequences: people in individual work organizations, the communes, and the city, and in the republic and the federation. The city takes only 38.9 percent of the economy's income, while the republic takes 19.5 percent, the federation 23.4 percent, and the rest goes to various funds.

"The work stoppages have splashed over the borders of our communes," it was said in the discussion. It was noted that this was not a misunderstanding of the measures taken after 15 May, but rather a result of the inability of the associated labor organizations to adjust to the new market conditions. There have been no major social upheavals in Maribor in the past few years, and several work organizations have therefore become unambitious. As long as industrial growth was 2 percent, they could manage, but now that it has fallen by as much as 8 percent [figures as published], difficulties have arisen. The structure of Maribor economy presents problems, but Slavko Vizovisek, president of the City Conference of the SAWP of Maribor, stressed that Dusan Sinigoj, as president of the republican Executive Council now and its vice president previously, knows that Maribor developed in this way because of decisions at higher levels which were not made yesterday; therefore, his statement at Zemon that the situation in Maribor is a consequence of wrong measures in the city through many years is untrue.

Peter Ivanusa of Rotovz was quite sharp. He said: "Workers want results and not just nice words about a misty future. Everybody must contribute to common needs, and this includes those that incur losses; if they cannot contribute, they should go into liquidation. We must immediately abolish those self-managing interest communities that simply distribute money, such as the interest communities for the railroads and ports, and for aviation, for energy, the post, telegraph, and telephones: These branches should be ruled by the laws of the market. The city SAWP should at once get into action for one commune instead of six in the city." Peter Ivanusa also said that the demand for an extraordinary session of the Federal Assembly and the resignation of the government was not justified; we were the ones who demanded such measures and we must now carry them out. However, the measures could be supplemented.

Other speakers also advocated one commune instead of six, and also said that Maribor must finally open up and must admit goods by all Yugoslav producers who want to come to the market, and the consumers should then decide. The delegates also demanded a reduction of communal spending and administration costs. They also demanded that a worker for his normal work must get enough income that he will not need any social assistance; at present, 26,500 citizens in Maribor are getting

this assistance. Emil Tomazic, president of the City Assembly, said that all the questions will have to be answered, as unpleasant as they may be. He promised that personal responsibility will be demanded.

Maribor Strike Ends

AU0307180288 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 25 Jun 88 p 1

[Joze Jerman and Marjan Kos report: "The Strike Has Ended"]

[Text] Maribor, 24 Jun—The workers of Maribor work organizations who were on strike for 3 days are working normally today. The only exception is a group of some 150 discontents who broke into the yard of MTT [Mariborska Tekstilna Tovarna—Maribor Textile Plant]. A special unit of the Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs arrived and called on the rioters to disperse. They went to Freedom Square, but dispersed soon afterwards, because nobody wanted to listen to them.

At MTT, the workers council of the composite organization of associated labor and the leadership of the sociopolitical organizations met this morning and discussed, among other things, the resignation offered by Director General Slobodan Sujica, but did not accept it. At an extraordinary session of the MTT workers council, Izidor Cizic, president of the Trade Union conference, also offered his resignation, but it was not accepted. It was decided, however, that all those employed in MTT will receive a 70,000-dinar cost of living supplement for the next 3 months. It had been proposed at the Melje work organization, which is a part of the MTT Composite Organization of Associated Labor, that those whose personal incomes exceed 700,000 dinars should not receive any supplement. TAM [Tovarna Avtomobilov Maribor—Maribor Automobile Plant] decided that a personal income difference will be paid today for the past mopnth to all those workers who earned less than 320,000 dinars.

The strike committee of the Elektrokovina Composite Organization of Associated Labor reported to a workers meeting today on the strike and on the decisions. The committee said that workers in the Sales Department worked normally because they must meet the sales plan, for this is the only way that all the workers get their personal incomes.

Today, the Regional Chamber of Commerce for the Drava Valley invited the leading managers of the associated labor organizations in the region to talks. Vinko Lapuh, president of the chamber, acquainted them with the present situation and said that the strike in some work organizations in the past 3 days caused great harm. Engineer Srecko Potocnik of Boris Kidric TVT [expansion unknown] said that the situation was not tense just now, because one had been giving warnings about problems for a long time, but nobody took any notice. Marjan Pecaric of Jeklotehna wondered where the social programs were since we talk about them so much. Milan Lukic of Marles drew attention to the constantly increasing commitments for taxes and contributions, which last year amounted to 1.6 billion, but this year reach 6 billion dinars. He did not agree with the demagoguery of blaming Belgrade for everything, for various decisions are also made in the republic, the city, and the commune.

This afternoon, Miran Potrc, president of the Assembly of the SR of Slovenia, met an expanded aktiv of economic and social workers of Maribor. He said that many workers' demands are justified and that they should be comprehensively studied and answered.

Factory Strike in Knin Ends

LD0607210688 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1512 GMT 6 Jul 88

[Text] Knin, 6 Jul (TANJUG)—Following a several-hour long strike, about 1,400 workers of the bolts and screws factory of Knin went back to work this morning. The work stoppage occurred as a protest over delays in paying out personal incomes for last month and after some indications about a possible reduction in wages. After the meeting of representatives from sociopolitical organizations in the collective, which was also attended by representatives of Knin sociopolitical organizations, a workers meeting was held to inform the workers about their wages, which are to be paid out tomorrow.

Korosec Addresses Slovene Miners

LD0207224088 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1824 GMT 2 Jul 88

[Text] Trbovlje, July 2 (TANJUG)—Only by implementing decisive and profound reforms in the economic and political spheres can the Yugoslav society find a way out of the present crisis and progress in its development, League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Central Committee Presidency Secretary Stefan Korosec said today at traditional ceremony of miners close to the town of Trbovlje in the Yugoslav republic of Slovenia.

The country followed an unsuccessful development policy for far too long which resulted in deteriorating economic and living conditions. This heightened the justified dissatisfaction of workers and citizens, Korosec said addressing the miners. He said it was time that everyone understood that wages cannot grow for a certain period, and furthermore, that wage cuts must be made in order to curb the high inflation rate.

Yugoslavia has no alternative but to persevere in implementing a comprehensive reform, Korosec said.

Security 'Shaken' by Zmaj Workers

AU0607164288 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 30 Jun 88 p 9

[Reprint of Dunja Ujevic article from VECERNJI LIST: "Dissatisfaction on the Public Scene"]

[Text] Among the many questions raised by the demonstration (because this was a demonstration) by the workers from Zemun, there is also the question of whether the SFRY Assembly is the place to which workers should come to seek their salaries. Under normal circumstances (these are in fact the circumstance that the economic measures are attempting to establish, and whose initial effects have brought people to the assembly), the workers would not have anything to seek in front of the assembly, but in front of their own director's door.

Under normal circumstances, in a situation when only half of the factory's capacity is operational, when, because of losses, poor organization of work, lack of work discipline, and enormous administrative costs, the firm went into receivership several months ago, the workers of the Zmaj plant would most probably deal with the management themselves. But if their coming to the assembly and the entire burden of their organization raises the question of the basis of our self-management, then their visit represents the other side of the very same self-management. The workers of the Zmaj plant did not elect their director themselves, just as other workers did not elect their directors.

He was elected for them, he was brought in on instructions, from outside, from above, by politicians. In the narrowed vision of those who do not have money for bread, there is no place for one's own responsibility, and the assembly is becoming a suitable embodiment of everything from "above," and everything "bureaucratic," and "state-political."

This is therefore a part of the game imposed by the government, while the epilogue is taking place in front of the assembly.... After the demonstration by the workers from Zemun things are no longer the same in Yugoslavia. The impossible has happened in Yugoslavia. Security has been shaken and nobody can be guaranteed power without backing. The one thing that must not happen is that, because of this and other "Zmaj cases," we turn away from the road along which we have been proceeding. The most (and the least) that the government can do is to start sharing the fate of the people.

Protest Criticized

AU0507184288 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 30 Jun 88 p 9

[Reprint of Branislav Boskov article from OSLOBODJENJE: "The Old Trick Worked"]

[Text] ...The reporter outside—rather than inside—the SFRY Assembly who has been reporting more and more about the protest visits instead of the work of the highest delegates' body, in which the economic reform has been increasingly discussed, is somehow confused by all this. Can the reform be introduced or even started, considering that it has received some unpleasant blows before it has even been properly defined?

The workers of the Zmaj organization hoisted the slogan "We want changes," but by going out into the street they did not enter the right road to reforms, because what they subsequently received represents a typical example of noneconomic behavior. They used the old, well-tried method of solving the problem of losses and low personal incomes, and thus it is difficult to understand this as a way of clearing the road for the reform in which the market and the economy would dominate.

The visits to the SFRY Assembly by dissatisfied workers and citizens have become more frequent. People come because they think that they can find justice here more quickly than where the injustice has been done. Or perhaps because they think that it will be easier to solve their problems or to change something in the SFRY Assembly. Could these visits be explained by the people's trust in the Assembly? If this is the case, then this is a good thing. There must be trust in this highest delegates' organ, since people come to it to look for solutions. But these visits also point to the lack of trust in other state organs which should provide help for the citizens, and not only remind them of their duties. When people go to Belgrade it is clear that they are not succeeding where they should be.

It is not natural or good for the president or the vice president of the SFRY Assembly to start his working day with a conversation with dissatisfied citizens. It is not good that angry people enter the Assembly hall, sometimes threatening that they will not leave it until the problem they came to complain about is resolved. All their problems should have been resolved in other places, previously, so that they do not have to come to the building to which they send their delegates to create and direct the future on their behalf. By coming to the Assembly they only tell us that the system does not work, and in no way can their visits be described as a contribution to the reform. The visits also imply that the majority of protesters care more about money than anything else, even to the extent that they do not care that the reform could be postponed or even fail. The last warning will nevertheless be sent to those above.... [sentence as received]

129 Strikes Recorded in Croatia in 1988

LD0507105588 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0052 GMT 5 Jul 88

[By Savan Tomasevic]

[Excerpts] Zagreb, 5 Jul (TANJUG)—In the first 5 months of this year 129 work stoppages, in which 14,448 workers took part, were recorded in the Socialist Republic of Croatia, and their number increased significantly

in June after the new FEC measures came into effect. According to the judgement of social attorneys of self-management [drustvewi pravobranilac samoupravljanja] in the republic, in each of these stoppages there were infringements of the self-managing rights of working people and social ownership, either by the management and other structures against whom the protests were made, or, indeed, by the "strikers". Analyses have shown that almost 97 percent of the work stoppages in the Socialist Republic of Croatia were because of personal incomes. [passage omitted]

In the debates on strikes, especially in the trade union organization, the view is increasingly expressed that the strikes in our country should be a more "well-ordered" phenomenon. This means that it should be known precisely who organizes them, who is the leader of them, and in what way the situation is to be resolved. Strikes exist in the capitalist system, too, but there they are precisely organized and not of a wildcat nature. The question of whether the right to strike should be set out in the Constitution or not is another matter, but the fact is that, after the large number of them, there should be clear guidance on how they should be organized. The opinion is also being expressed increasingly often that a procedural code for strikes should exist for the whole country, because there are no specific differences here in relation to the republics and the provinces. [passage omitted]

And finally, we have still not reached agreement on what term to use for a strike—whether to use this appellation, to call it a work stoppage, or something else—as if this were the most important thing. So the attorneys have proposed to call them "protest interruptions of work".

The most important thing is that a strike should not be of a purely wildcat nature and a phenomenon without any organizational format and thus also without responsibility for carrying it out.

Military Judge Denies Jansa's Hunger Strike

AU0207185888 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1700 GMT 2 Jul 88

[Text] In connection with the intensifying rumors about a hunger strike by detained Janez Jansa, Colonel Djuro Vlajislavljevic, president of the Military Court in Ljubljana, made the following statement for our radio:

[Begin recording in Serbo-Croatian fading into Slovene translation] It is more and more difficult to communicate with the press, radio, television, and other mass communications media in, to put it mildly, a correct way. Rumors and incorrect reports are more and more frequent, and they are causing an increasingly tense atmosphere in the Borstner, Tasic, Zavrl, and Jansa cases.

Obviously, it suits somebody to manipulate things in connection with these cases, but this is not the fault of the military juridical organs who conduct the proceedings correctly and in keeping with the valid regulations of the unified SFRY juridical system. One of the untruths is that accused Janez Jansa began a hunger strike while detained in the military prison. It is true, however, that he ate his lunch on 29 June. After his lunch, when he was told of the decision to extend his detention, he announced that he would begin a hunger strike which would continue until the end of the proceedings or until he is released from detention. He made all this conditional on a talk with me as president of the court.

In the talk with me, he softened his attitude on a hunger strike. On the same day, after a talk with me and after a visit by his wife and his brother, he stated to official people that he would not begin any hunger strike.

Chronologically, the course of events was as follows: He had no supper on 29 June. On 30 June, he had breakfast: He drank tea and ate a bisquit. He drank juice for a mid-morning snack. He had no lunch, and let us say that he refused his lunch. For supper, he ate some yogurt, and left the rest. On 1 July, he had breakfast: He drank coffee with milk and ate some cheese, but he left some luncheon meat. He snacked on juice. He ate a complete lunch, except bread, and he ate the bisquit that was left over from his snack. He also ate all his supper except the bread. The supper consisted of potatoes in a meat sauce. Today, he had breakfast and his snack. Do the uneaten supper on 29 June and the breakfast [as heard] on 30 June mean a hunger strike? Does this deserve so much attention in the public information media?

I emphasize that he was medically examined by military doctors and his own doctor, and his health is normal. His close relatives visit him, more frequently than allowed by standing rules and regulations. He received his last visit yesterday, on 1 July. His wife and his brother visited him. [end recording]

Newspapers Criticize Situation in Slovenia

SLOBODNA DALMACIJA Comment

AU0607153788 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 27 Jun 88 p 13

[Jug Grizelj article: "Whose Army"—reprinted from Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA, no date given]

[Text] Ljubljana DNEVNIK recently carried the third installment of a letter by Kermauner to Kmecelj, in which Kermauner discusses all the aspects of the Jansa case, as he sees them. The text first elaborates the thesis of how the value of an army cannot be assessed outside the context of what it serves, which hardly anybody of sense could deny. After this, however, Kermauner goes on to say: If the Yugoslav People's Army defends despotism, neo-Stalinism, or unitarism in Yugoslavia—just as

the pre-war Army did—then the Yugoslav People's Army is regressive, violent, antihumanistic, and historically backward: it no longer is a Slovene army.

Developing further the thesis about the need for a Slovene army to exist, so that it will defend and protect the interests of the Slovene national state, Kermauner concluded: An army that is not such an army should not be allowed to be on the territory of the national state of Slovenia, for an army that protects Slovene interests must be under the supreme command of the Slovene authorities.

The author then passes on to Jansa and says literally: "Jansa did not violate the laws of the Slovene army such as it was formed among the partisans and in the Liberation Front. He is suspected of having violated a law drawn in a foreign language, and how can a foreign language be valid in a Slovene army? Is this not precisely a piece of evidence evinced by ill-disposed critics that the Yugoslav People's Army no longer is a Slovene army?"

I read this letter immediately after watching a television report on the Ljubljana gathering convened by the youth organization, one of many held in Slovenia recently. All this, apart from the reports on quite a few cases of maltreatment of soldiers, and of families and even children of military personnel in Slovenia in the past few weeks, absolves me, as a citizen of a Yugoslav, democratic, and socialist orientation, from the need to be reticent in my future viewing of all this unfortunate storm that has been raging over our northern republic lately.

We will talk about Jansa when the legal proceedings are completed. We are talking now about a hysterical demand that the entire Yugoslav People's Army should be put in the dock as an occupying force. All of Yugoslavia is facing a state of mind whose consequences hardly anybody can predict or control. Unfortunately, many of us Yugoslavs who have rejoiced at the Slovene initiatives and together with them dreamed about a democratic spring feel badly cheated now. This is not a spring which I have supported. Is it possible that no one of my Slovene comrades and friends has preserved at least a fraction of historical memory of what happens to peoples when they mount their national steeds and let their reins hang free?

NOVA MAKEDONIJA Comment

AU0607133088 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 27 Jun 88 p 4

[Unattributed report: "NOVA MAKEDONIJA on Events in Slovenia: The Background to the 'Black Spot'"]

[Text] Many have been inclined to discern the beginnings of the "Slovene spring" in the events on the so-called alternative scene. However, the matters occurring in the Slovene political scene now require a different approach, whether we want it or not. After the continued attacks by untypical MLADINA on the Yugoslav People's Army, which are explained in the Slovene public chiefly as "mischief making" and "youthful exuberance," after the well-known articles and premises of NOVA REVIJA as regards the future of Yugoslav society, and finally after the "Jansa case" and everything that happens in its connection, one simply must look at things in a different way, Saturday's NOVA MAKEDONIJA says.

We have been persuaded that such and similar processes should be classes among processes of democratization, that the entire euphoria and spontaneity present in the "Jansa case" should be explained as the care of the public for the fate of a man and community, for the legal security of citizens, and as an obligation to defend freedom ... tolerance and patience in interpreting the events in Slovenia were invoked, so that an anti-Slovene feeling should not be created.

The black spot that remained after the "cultural meeting" in Ljubljana, at which some 10,000 people gathered to demonstrate their support for Jansa, Borstner, and Tasic, suspected of betraying military secrets, as well as the latest, previously unknown, facts about the by no means civilized pressure on the Yugoslav People's Army personnel, uncover the true background of the events. Under the cloak of the struggle for democracy and freedom, and by frightening people because the democratic processes in Slovenia are supposedly exposed to serious threats, appeals are made to those who think alike for a monolithic unity of the nation. In this, only those forces can be interested that in all this situation try to "pay off" some other bills, bills of their own make that cannot be paid in the present Yugoslav society as it is, NOVA MAKDONIJA notes.

DELO Comments on Slovene, LCY Plenums

AU0607134388 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 1 Jul 88 p 4

[Bori Jez commentary: "It Is Not a Matter of Who Has Won"]

[Text] Many among the Slovene public perhaps ask what Milan Kucan "accomplished" at the latest plenum of the LCY Central Committee, if anything at all: Did he succeed in convincing the highest party forum that there is no counterrevolution in Slovenia, or did he not? Has the Slovene party succeeded in retaining, even after this plenum, the comparatively wide room that it delineated for the articulation of the renovation and reform?

At least at first sight, the Slovene Central Committee at its latest session and Milan Kucan did win; the said session was "positively appraised" in the LCY Central Committee Presidium. As the newspaper report says, the

hope was also expressed that the Slovene Central Committee will "actively embark on a further settling of the situation and that it will bear responsibility for its work accordingly."

On the formal side at least, the efforts of the Slovene Communists to retain the continuity of the reconstruction and reform have been supported. Some critical thoughts about the present political situation in Slovenia also were expressed at the plenum. And we should not close our eyes to the fact that a majority of the Yugoslav public is rather negatively attuned to Slovenia and its "deviations." The "formal support" to the Slovene party organization is, under these circumstances welcome and perhaps even urgent, but it remains only "formal," however we may turn it.

This was undoubtedly also "noticed" by Kucan, who probably also knew very well that it is impossible to expect much more under the present circumstances. He called the members of the federal Central Committee to come to Slovenia to see for themselves what goes on there, and only then will it be possible to argue properly. This gesture certainly contains some rhetoric, but it also contains an extremely important message: Innumerable matters in the state have until now been adjudicated in private offices, and not "on the spot," which often had even tragic consequences.

At the latest Slovene Central Committee session, the thought was expressed several times in different ways to the effect that it is not attacks on the Yugoslav People's Army that are behind the present "Slovene affair," but that "some people" are disturbed primarily by the reform processes that are certainly more intensive and radical in Slovenia than in other places. In other words, certain excesses that, so to speak, should be an expected side effect of global social changes, are but an occasion for raising clouds of dust; and when the dust settles, we will suddenly notice that somebody has "carried away" the reforms.

If this is so—and there is much to show that it is likely to be so—one should certainly ask oneself what can be accomplished with "persuasion" and "demonstration." Of course this does not mean that the Slovene party and the public should have renounced any dialogue with others; on the contrary; for the present moment requires an "ideological offensive" in the sense of arguments, specific political projects, and so forth. However, we should not forget, that the real essence of the matter probably does not rest on "poor information," but is embedded deeply in politics and economics.

Human Rights Committee Criticizes Military

LD0307115088 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1041 GMT 3 Jul 88

[Text] Ljubljana, 3 Jul (TANJUG)—In connection with yesterday's statement by the president of the Ljubljana Military Court that Janez Jansa, who is in detention, had not gone on a hunger strike, the Committee for the Protection of Human Rights in its statement today says that the proposal to extend the detention of the three men held in custody was confirmed 1 day earlier than the date given by General Tominc during his meeting with the editors of public information media. In connection with Jansa's statement that he will go on a hunger strike, the Committee decided to try to dissuade him from doing that, and subsequently the governor of the military prison informed Jansa's wife that Jansa had stopped his strike.

In connection with the statement by the president of the Ljubljana Military Court, the committee says that "the problems of correctly communicating with the press, radio and television and other media do not arise from the behavior of the media and the activity of the committee but are the result of the activity of military justice organs." In the committee's opinion the report for the public on the extension of the detention and contradictory reports by the military justice organs on Jansa's hunger strike are additional proof that "these organs are not fulfilling their commitments which all goes to confirm the suspicion about the correctness and legality of the entire procedure," the committee says in its statement.

'Antisocialist Forces' Blamed for Army Attacks

AU0107153088 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 1 Jul 88

[Text] We must not allow social problems to be thrashed out on the back of the Yugoslav People's Army, and the Army to stand alone in defending itself from impudent attacks that are carried out not by some hooligans, but by antisocialist and anti-communist forces, whose calculated, dark aims have been taken from the special-war armory and whose background is well known.

This was stated by Vice Admiral Milan Nikolic, Retired, in his opening speech at a session of the Commission for All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection of the Central Committee Presidium of the LC of Serbia. He added that these attacks should not be identified with the feelings of the peoples and nationalities in the communities where they occur.